

LABOR MAGAZINE



THE VOICE OF PROGRESSIVE LABOR

Is Labor Free In Russia?

HARVEY O'CONNOR

Black Star Mothers

TOM TIPPETT

Who Shall Organize—and How?

A. J. MUSTE

The Dilemma of A Militant Union

An Editorial

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Vol. XIX—No. 9

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IN THIS ISSUE

JUST when the gold star mothers are returning from France with wonderful tales about the solicitous treatment accorded them and the graves of their sons (see "Flashes from the Labor World" on page 19), it is appropriate to present a tale of other mothers and other graves. Mothers and wives of coal diggers who also have made the great sacrifice so that "this nation may be a happy place to live in," find no such gentle hands to minister to their wants nor do those who die in coal pits have ivy vines beautifying their eternal place of rest. Tom Tippet, director of the extension department of Brookwood Labor College, has at a most opportune time dug up the terrifying incident of a long forgotten coal mine disaster which lives in the present through a monument of coal, slowly built by a lonely widow looking for the man she lost 23 years ago. "Black Star Mothers" is the story.

THE hubbub created by the antics of Woll, Easley & Co., and by the Fish Committee, has thrown the whole question of social and industrial conditions in Russia into the lap of indiscriminate controversy. Woll wants an embargo on all Russian imports because he insists that all labor in Russia is forced. "Is Labor Free in Russia?" is the answer to this clamorous claim. Harvey O'Connor, the writer, is manager of the Federated Press Eastern Bureau and is openly in favor of the Russian experiment. The facts the author presents indicate that Russian labor is at least as free as in any other industrial country. Mr. O'Connor has recently been in Russia and therefore the country he writes about is not strange to him.

ORGANIZING the unorganized is the biggest job confronting the Labor Movement. Yet who is fitted for this task? What kind of psychology and strategy are

essential to win over the masses of America's workers to unionism? A. J. Muste in "Who Shall Organize—And How?" reviews the possibilities within the A. F. of L. and Communist unions for this job and gives his conclusions. The readers will find this contribution of unusual importance.

WITH unemployment growing steadily; with India looming larger as a problem that seems unsolvable; with general dissatisfaction becoming more widespread at home through loss of membership and wage-cuts, the situation confronting British Labor to be discussed at the forthcoming British Trade Union Congress is more serious than ever. What the possible decisions will be is presented in "Next Steps by British Labor" contributed by Mark Starr just on the eve of his return to England. Mark Starr, it will be recalled, was on leave of absence from his duties as general organizer for the National Council of Labor Colleges of Great Britain. During his stay in America he was instructor at Brookwood Labor College. He is the author of a number of books dealing with economics and history. He has sailed for his native land to take up his old duties and to get first hand information about the recent developments in England. His early return to this country is expected.

THE summer is waning. The lassitude of vacation time is almost over. The fall and winter are just ahead when people, and progressives among them, can begin to think of knuckling down to work with greater seriousness. The Conference for Progressive Labor Action is planning a program of activities that can keep every one very busy. How progressives can line up for progressivism in the Labor Movement is detailed in "Prepare Your Program."

WE wish to call the reader's special attention to the cartoons published in this issue. "The Retreat From Moscow," while self evident in its interpretation, may need a word of explanation to those who do not follow the news too closely. It will be recalled that just after Matthew Woll called for an embargo on all Russian products, President Hoover and President Green of the A. F. of L. both issued statements opposing blanket embargoes against Russian products and favoring embargoes only against those on which convict labor was used. This was a complete repudiation of Woll's stand.

In "There You Are" the artist successfully illustrates the great love Hoover has for commissions. When the unemployed are asking for the life belt of jobs and bread he is giving them the anchor of commissions. Both of these cartoons are from the pencil of J. F. Anderson, member of the International Association of Machinists.

"He Done Her Wrong," humorously illustrates the pitiable plight of the A. F. of L. when it believed all too easily the promises of Hoover and his Big Business Boys. The consequences of such simple trustfulness are awful! Herbert Heasley is a member of the Brotherhood of Railway Clerks.

THE March of the Machine, Following the Fight, In Other Lands, Say It With Books, Flashes from the Labor World, and What Our Readers Think complete this issue.

• LABOR • AGE •

September, 1930

EDITORIALS

A CLERICAL error, unfortunately not caught in the proof-reading, rendered our brief editorial comment last month on Lewis and the anthracite situation somewhat vague. The fact that Lewis was able to get a new contract with the anthracite operators without a costly strike and without, for the present at least, any reduction in wages for the men,

Lewis, The Anthracite and The A. F. of L.

has in all probability greatly strengthened his hold on the Miners' Union. The indications at the Tri-District convention in the spring were that he was personally far from popular with many anthracite miners, but that the local unions were not ready to challenge his leadership with the expiration of the contract staring them in the face. It is conceivable that with this hurdle safely passed, the insurgents against his regime might get up steam and refuse to let him use the per capita tax paid by anthracite miners to crush the Howat movement among their brothers in the bituminous field. At present, however, there are no indications of any such development.

This means that Lewis will go to the A. F. of L. convention in October claiming credit for a big victory for the anthracite miners and claiming also the solid backing of their local unions. And that means that any hopes the Howat organization, or some of its members, may have had that they could prove conclusively to the A. F. of L. that Lewis was wholly discredited and powerless, and that therefore their delegates and not his should be seated, have gone glimmering. The best the Howat group can expect from the Boston Convention is a little extension of time to enable (some of) them to save their faces and make their peace with John L. They are not likely to get even that.

Once again we venture to make the point that the Howat organization has only one excuse for existence—if, namely, it will be a militant, clean, progressive organization breaking not only with Lewis but with Lewisism and going out to organize the unorganized. If it will be that, the question of seating its delegates at an A. F. of L. convention is for the time being unimportant. If it is not that, but only a new version of the old regime, it deserves to die, as it will.

THE absurdity of the use of injunctions in this country is well illustrated by certain recent happenings in the dispute between the Howat and the John L. Lewis factions in the United Mine Workers of America. As previously told in

Playing With Injunctions

LABOR AGE, District 12, U. M. W., Illinois, was granted an injunction which forbade Lewis from interfering in any way with the affairs of the District which was the chief agent in the Howat reorganization move. Now another judge has granted an injunction to fifteen obscure individuals, acting

under orders from Lewis, which restrains the Howat international and also District 12 and all of its sub-districts from performing the functions of the Miners' Union.

We wonder whether it is sound policy for the Howat organization which claims to be progressively inclined to spend much time, energy or money in these legal battles. It is possible that this cannot be avoided, though that is a question deserving very careful study. We are certain, however, that the fate of the reorganization movement is not going to be settled in the courts. That movement, as we have pointed out before, will stand or fall according as it succeeds or does not succeed in carrying the banner of unionism into those mining regions where during the long Lewis regime that banner has been lowered. The task of securing a firm foothold for the new union in Illinois, the only remaining large-sized organized field, is of primary importance; but nothing would do so much to rally the Illinois rank and file to the Howat organization and to convince them once and for all that their District administration is not in secret alliance with the Peabody coal interests, as a vigorous organization drive in Pennsylvania, West Virginia or Kentucky. How about it, Brothers Howat, Walker, Germer?

IN a moment of unguarded candor James W. Gerard, former United States Ambassador to Germany and an exponent of wealth in his own right, relieved himself of a

America's Dictatorship

bit of information that when expressed by radicals has always been flouted as so much crazy nonsense. Fifty-nine capitalists and financiers, he said, rule America.

"These men rule by virtue of their ability," the press reports him as saying. "They themselves are too busy to hold political office but they determine who shall hold such office."

In plain black on white Mr. Gerard boasts that the United States is ruled by a dictatorship of wealth and that all the fuss and feathers about democracy are so much pap handed the native citizenship to keep it satisfied. The elected officials only attain public office at the will of the fifty-nine dictators, to take their orders and to do their bidding.

Mr. Gerard is vastly satisfied with this arrangement for by such control of the nation's destinies the welfare of the wealthy, comprising two per cent who rake in fifty per cent of the nation's income, is permanently assured. What happens to the other 98 per cent of the population, the worker, the small business and professional man and the farmer is of no concern.

And neither should it be. As long as the vast majority of the people are satisfied with such an arrangement why shouldn't the beneficiaries of this dictatorship think it the

best system on God's green earth? As long as citizens feel content with the meaningless ballyhoo of Republican and Democratic political sham battles, long ago pointed out by progressive labor as the puppets of Big Business, who else should care?

Isn't it about time, when the dictatorship feels so safe in its position as openly to boast of it, that the workers realize that the control of America by the 59 means low wages, unemployment, stunted lives, degradation for themselves?

We are indebted to Mr. Gerard for exposing the fact of America's dictatorship. He is a good authority to quote when stating that the Republican and Democratic Parties are but the helpless though willing handmaidens of Big Business. This "news" should be flagrant enough and authentic enough to stir the complacencies of the workers in general and of the American Federation of Labor's officialdom in particular. In the light of Mr. Gerard's boastfulness the A. F. of L.'s non-partisan political policy becomes nothing but a sad joke—a joke in which Labor is shown to be equally the tool of the union-busting, liberty suppressing, labor exploiting dictatorship of the 59.

Now that Mr. Gerard has spoken there is nothing else for Labor to do than vigorously to work for a Labor Party. No decent citizen who treasures the democratic principles of government and the traditional liberties of America can without guilt cast a ballot for either the Republican or Democratic Parties. For a worker to do so is nothing short of treason; treason to himself and his family, treason to his class and treason to the ideals and aspirations of Labor—the emancipation of the workers. Only a Labor Party, independent of Big Business and opposing its profit lust can maintain America as a nation of free men and women.

THREE years have passed since Sacco and Vanzetti were done to death in lawful manner by the sovereign State of Massachusetts. What could ever be said of their

Sacco and Vanzetti

devotion to the workers' cause and of their martyrdom has already been covered in the many, many bitter months that passed before, during and after the legally required voltage burned life from their bodies.

Yet on every August 22, we must stand aside for reflection at the power of oppression of which Sacco and Vanzetti were the outstanding victims of this decade. We dare not permit the memories of these two burnt offerings to the God of Mammon to dim in our consciousness lest we forget the forces of ruthless exploitation which they fought unto death and which are growing stronger with the passing years.

Martyrs, labor has had many. To those active in life's time honored battles—the battles for a world free and beautiful—will again come the occasion for sacrifice. Until final victory the future will probably snatch more victims from the ranks of workers than the past. But of all this line of martyrs, past and future, Sacco and Vanzetti are peculiarly our own. We grew up with them. We knew them and touched their hands as they passed by. We felt the pain of their innocent suffering. Before our eyes we saw them done to death for those crimes of which we, ourselves, are equally as guilty. Their anguish and persecution established the justice of our cause. After the last tremor of their poor bodies, we knew we were right.

Sacco and Vanzetti have given us much. They gave us definiteness, certitude and the unalterable conviction that the America of tolerance no longer exists. Our ruling class is more jealous of its privileges and more murderous

in their protection than ruling classes the world over. The class war is on.

Hail to Sacco and Vanzetti—the symbols of labor's courage and the victims of the plutocrats' unholy fear!

THE American Federation of Musicians is spending many thousands of dollars in its campaign against "canned music." With the livelihood of thousands of its

Blowing the Wrong Horn

membership at stake, the organization should be commended for making strenuous efforts to combat the entry of the "machine" into the field of this specific art. Yet we are unconvinced that the Musicians are making the wisest use of their funds for the protection of their membership. In this instance, by plastering the bill boards and filling newspaper and magazine pages with pleas to the public not to permit "the canned prunes to make all the tunes," we think they are blowing the wrong horn.

For what does the general public who fill the moving picture houses in droves care about the tunes as long as the heroine is properly under-dressed and the hero knows his kissing onions? And how many of the picture patrons can tell the difference between the artistic expressions of a Philharmonic Orchestra and the synchronized blahs that accompany the showing of the Hollywood Follies? The question supplies its own answer.

Synchronized music has come to stay because it fits the needs of mass entertainment as now organized. It is but another machine come into the realm of industry displacing the skilled worker who previously held sway. And like other machines it cannot be fought out of existence. Certainly such an end cannot be accomplished even though a million dollars were expended in the attempt to educate the masses of the people in the difference between "canned" and "fresh" music.

More realistic would be the efforts of the American Federation of Musicians if it turned its resources, now assigned to the futile task of combatting the machine, to back agitation for unemployment insurance. By helping in the task of obtaining social legislation to relieve all workers incapable of finding employment, the musicians would help themselves. Its jobless members would then be assured of some income until they obtained work in another field. Their safest bet is unemployment relief to the unemployed for no matter how praiseworthy their desire to retain their importance in the world of music, their attempts to attain that end is certain of frustration. They will eventually have to recognize the new limitations placed upon them by the "canned" music. To protect the welfare of their present membership unemployment insurance is the immediate next step.

SOMETHING has happened to the usually unchallenging processes of A. F. of L. thinking. Without warning or other sign of dramatic change, the AMERICAN FEDERATIONIST, in its August issue, suddenly

Midsummer Madness

announces that "education for emancipation" is not quite so 'unliberal' and detestable from an educational standpoint that it was first generally assumed to be. . . . Thus what we require is instruction of a quasi-propagandist character or education with a kick in it. To 'high-minded' philanthropists such no doubt would appear to be very deplorable, but all education contains something of propaganda and the border line between the two is a very thin one. Furthermore, the independents urge with some force, that the non-independent working-class education is by no

means entirely lacking in *a priori* assumptions nor very far removed from the sectional interests of a particular class."

We quote this much to show that our surprise has a justified basis. However, lest the joke on the readers be carried too far, we must hasten to add that such approval of real workers' education deals only with the activities of the workers in Great Britain and has nothing whatever to do with the viewpoints of the educational arm of the A. F. of L., the Workers Education Bureau. Here the greatest effort of the Bureau is still expended, and more than ever, in the attempt to make workers education perfectly innocuous and to be directly controlled by and dependent on the existing universities and colleges.

Nevertheless, the fact that such heretical and discomfiting ideas, even though describing the situation in a foreign land, can find expression in the official organ of the American Federation of Labor, is thoroughly startling and is an unmistakable sign of midsummer madness.

On the other hand, maybe it is safe enough to talk about "education with a kick in it" for workers 3,000 miles across the sea as long as the kickless brand is strenuously advocated for the workers at home.

THE one labor publication that gives us greater delight than most others is Daniel Tobin's own magazine, the official journal of the Teamsters' Union. Within its pages, dominated largely by the editorial pen of Tobin, himself, one can find a mellow philosophy and an open-hearted candor that is as welcome as it is difficult to perceive most anywhere in this tight-lipped machine age.

A Frank Commentator

Starting with the weather, to cull a recent issue, where judicious advice is rendered about what to do when: "Of course it is warm, very warm, these days and we are all suffering from heat. As a matter of fact, it is always warm at this particular time of the year and if we will just consider this from the standpoint of common sense our suffering will be minimized," observations continue to flow on the gravest problems confronting the nation. Unemployment, capitalist politics, wage-cuts and organization problems are each discussed in their turn and adequately disposed of, the Editor bringing to each topic the long experiences of an old fighter in the cause of Labor.

"The program mapped out at the conference called by President Hoover immediately after the crash," Mr. Tobin analyzes Republican prosperity, "last year, in which a few labor men participated, expressed itself as being against any attempt to reduce wages. But, like all other plans and programs mapped out by the worthy President of the United States, this one will be like so much vapor vanishing in the air if the employers decide to reduce wages, and if they do it will no doubt prove to be the straw which broke the camel's back, because it will bring about a total paralysis of business."

There is nothing much one can do about it, opines this commentator, even though "the only wages that have held up at all, are the wages of the organized workers, and the organized workers of the country represent less than ten per cent of the toilers."

Abhorring self-deception, the President of the Teamsters' Union sees a gloomy picture of organized labor in this country.

"There is not any use making untruthful statements about the toilers of the nation being organized," he remarks, "because the employers of our country and the government know very well that the great bulk of the workers of the nation are not organized and will not be organized, perhaps, for

many years to come. The membership of organized labor within the American Federation of Labor has dropped from four and one-half million, during the war, to about two and one-half million at the present time, and there are some organizations paying per capita tax to the Federation on a larger number of members than there are on which they are receiving dues."

We have great respect for Daniel Tobin's knowledge of the inner workings of the A. F. of L. Until 1928 he was its treasurer and a member of its Executive Council.

"In the face of all this, what are we to do?" he asks. "My answer is to those of you who are working, take care of your jobs and save every dollar you can and be ever watchful for the opportunity to better yourselves, hoping that things will eventually change for the better, so that something may happen which will bring back to us at least a partial semblance of the prosperity enjoyed throughout the nation a few years ago."

The hope evidently is in the prowess of "rugged individualism."

Fittingly these editorial observations close with an obituary. Eulogizing James Lynch, former President of the Typographical Union, Brother Tobin unwittingly writes his obituary of the A. F. of L. as well. "One by one," ends his sad reflections, "those men of great minds who helped to make the Labor Movement what it is have been taken from us, *and the pity of it is that we are finding it impossible to duplicate them.*" (Italics ours.)

There is something fascinating about Brother Tobin's frankness. A good fighter looks back upon the scene and finds around him a waste of word and deed.

THE present A. F. of L. policy of organizing black workers only to unite them into "Federal Unions," removed from the union life of their community but connected by tenuous ties to the American Federation of Labor directly, is much like attempting to fill a basket with water. As much runs out from the bottom as is put in at the top.

Filling a Basket With Water

It is difficult, very difficult, to get the Southern white worker to overcome his old prejudices against his Negro brother and welcome him into the same labor organization. That attitude is not the fault of the American Federation of Labor. Yet, if nothing further can be gained than to organize the Negro into separate locals, why go to all this trouble? As Abram L. Harris pointed out in the February issue of LABOR AGE, in his article on "The Negro Worker," "... of the hundreds of Negro local and federal unions organized by the Federation between 1917 and 1924, there are not more than 22 at present."

These remarks are occasioned by the information that 4,000 Negro longshoremen were organized recently in New Orleans into a federal union. It must have taken much effort to accomplish this gratifying feat. Yet one knowing the history of such effort cannot help feeling that most of it was wasted. Out of the four thousand new members, if forty remain four years hence, it will be a good record.

Any campaign in the South to organize Negroes without an accompanying attempt to educate the white workers in order to weaken their prejudices will be abortive. The federal union is helpless in the face of the local needs of the workers. It is truly a fetich, an idea without substance and a gesture without meaning. Especially in this age of mergers and close cooperation among capital does a federal union become an anachronism. That is why most of them die so quickly and so quietly.

The Dilemma of a Militant Union

THE American Federation of Full Fashioned Hosiery Workers recently signed a national agreement which inflicted a twenty per cent cut in wages on 16,000 organized workers. What is perhaps equally serious, the union under this agreement has had to accept a modified form of the "stretch-out" (the two-machine system) against which it has fought for years.

Although the Hosiery Workers Union is by no means "controlled" by the C. P. L. A., or the Musteites, as the Communist press facetiously and inaccurately asserts, it does stand out as an unusually vigorous and progressive organization. For the most part its local and national officials are comparatively young, intelligent and aggressive. It has made strenuous efforts to organize the unorganized in the industry, and in those efforts has had the service of some of the most brilliant organizers in the Movement.

In spite of all this the Union finds itself in control of only about 30 per cent of the industry; the rest is run on a non-union basis. A few years ago it controlled twice as large a percentage. Thus its relative power has diminished despite the fact that its membership has grown. The reason is that new shops have been opened right and left in non-union territory where wages are much lower than in the union centers. This is a serious situation, and it remains to be seen whether the union's hope that wage cuts will now come in the non-union shops and that this will drive these workers into the union will be realized.

Why did such a strong, rich and wide awake union as the Hosiery Workers fail to organize its industry?

We believe that very little blame can be laid at the door of the Hosiery Workers Union. *The trouble goes straight back to the state of the Labor Movement in this country.*

When this union followed non-union mills into new territory it usually found the local Labor Movement non-existent or weak. Often the Central Labor Union was hardly functioning. If unions existed they were often of the most conservative and inefficient sort and many times even lacked the disposition to be helpful. Often no help of any importance was to be had from the representatives of other international unions. Instead of finding a Labor Movement on the spot to assist it, the Hosiery Union had to go to work to create or revivify one. This added greatly to the expense and the difficulties of organization work.

Usually the police and courts were found hostile. Yellow-dog contracts were imposed. Injunctions were issued on the least provocation. Huge bills for fines and legal expenses had to be met. Here again the failure of the general Labor Movement to organize its political strength effectively is the source of trouble.

The workers to be organized had no union psychology. No workers' education counteracted the prevailing business, get-ahead psychology. The Hosiery Workers Union was trying to make union men and women in the midst of an overwhelmingly non-union or anti-union environment. The Labor Movement had failed to neutralize the employer-inspired agencies of propaganda against organized labor. A large percentage of the officials of the Movement dress, look, think, feel, talk and act—like business men. On most essential points they have no quarrel with the business men's point of view. They do not think the workers of America need a political party of their own in order to achieve their aims on the political field. With but slight reservations they accept our present system of industry

and society, and boast about it. They proclaim incessantly that there is no great divergence between the interest of the worker and that of the boss.

If there is indeed no conflict here; if there is no difference between the present capitalist, competitive, militarist and imperialist world and the world which Labor desires to create, then the boss is certainly right when he says that a non-union, company-union, employee-representation set-up will do as well as or better than a trade union. If every time a worker hears a labor leader speak, he hears about the same thing that Mr. Hoover or Mr. Schwab or Julius Barnes or his own boss has just told him, then presently the worker will also believe the boss's tale about the open shop and the company union. If the workers do have rights which are jeopardized; if they suffer real and fundamental wrong when unprepared to protect themselves; if there is something to be struggled for as between employer and employee, between profit taker and wage earner, between the present order and a truly humane social order, then the only way to organize is by going to the workers and rallying them to organize and to work and struggle unitedly for food, for justice and for liberty. Then we must develop a distinctively labor psychology. Then we must have a militant and progressive as well as an intelligent and idealistic Labor Movement on every front, trade union, political, cooperative and educational.

Because we have not had that kind of a general Labor Movement in recent years the Hosiery Workers, despite their power, wealth, courage and intelligence have suffered a trying reverse. No union can advance or even in the long run maintain itself if it has to fight almost single-handed. Unless the Hosiery Workers can get more and better help from the general Labor Movement in the future, they are doomed to fresh disappointments. The road traveled by American workers is strewn with the wrecks of unions.

The Hosiery Workers Union stands now at the parting of the ways. There is apparently a tendency among some elements to tone down the Union's militancy; to adopt the policies and the methods of the A. F. of L. officialdom; to try to "get in right" with that officialdom. That is natural enough. When the retreat is sounded, even though it be temporarily and for strategic purposes, caution and conservatism sets in. Some may think or at least vaguely feel: "We have been militant and yet suffered reverses; therefore, what's the use of being militant?"

If the policy and the attitude of the Hosiery Workers Union were to incline that way it would be a calamity to them and to the general Labor Movement. They have been momentarily halted not because they were progressive and militant but because the general Labor Movement was not progressive and militant. Success in the future depends not on the Hosiery Workers changing to a conservative or reactionary color, but in working with all elements seeking to revive progressivism in the Labor Movement and to organize the unorganized in the basic industries.

We believe and trust that the Hosiery Workers have made but a strategic retreat; that they will go on confidently and militantly to attack the non-union strongholds which are exploiting the workers and ruining the industry; and that they will realize that to this end, for the sake of their own existence, they must throw their energies into helping build an all-around progressive American Labor Movement.

The Retreat From Moscow



Is Labor Free in Russia?

By HARVEY O'CONNOR

NOT least among the ironies of history to be recorded by Charles Beard in his next edition of "The Rise of American Civilization" is the hatred of certain American labor leaders for the world's first labor republic. Irony grins on nearly every aspect of Matthew Woll's long distance war with Soviet Russia; here is a trade union leader who charges that forced labor characterizes the land with the greatest trade union membership in the world. This charge emanates—of all places—from America, home of company unionism and classic example of that form of industrial servitude. Although Russian factories are alone in the whole world in crying for more machinists, blacksmiths, electricians and skilled mechanics, only Russia, if we are to believe Woll, is able to fly in the face of the law of supply and demand and impress its people in workgangs. Although unions exist and function in every Russian shop, mill and factory, workers are little better off than slaves, according to the fantastic yarns circulated by Woll's publicity mediums, the National Civic Federation and International Labor News Service.

Not at all ironical is the fact, however, that Woll sponsors proofless charges against the trade union movement of Soviet Russia. It is appropriate that the labor agent of a powerful private American insurance corporation should view with alarm the progress of the Soviet Union, leader in social insurance. No insurance agents panhandle Russian workers, collecting dribbles in pennies which in America turn into gushing streams of gold flowing into insurance company coffers. No high pressure agents camp at labor conventions pleading for business at a profit.

Double Loyalty

This is not the first of Woll's brazen double loyalties. For five years he has been "acting" president of the National Civic Federation, an employers' organization formed to fight progressivism and militancy in the Labor Movement and to corrupt its leaders. This band of profiteers and super-patriots made a lucky strike in getting a recognized trade union leader to act as mouthpiece for reaction. Behind Woll as mask, the Civic Federation's

agents have lobbied in congress and legislatures against social insurance and for gag laws against radical workers still unconvinced that all is for the best in this best of all capitalist worlds. Trading on the name of labor, the outfit Woll heads for years spewed lies about Russia through his mouth into the newspapers which mold public opinion.

Trade unionists do well to scrutinize not only Woll's charges but his motives. In the case of the Russian forced labor stories, his motives and the National Civic Federation's are transparent. Statements about a labor republic offered by an organization financed through employers who tremble at the sound of the word "soviet" and see golden dividends diverted to the public good under a labor rule are open to wide discount.

Boss-Financed Civic Federation

Unionists should remember too that the Civic Federation is an irresponsible organization which needs not defend its war-breeding lies about Russia before any labor or public bar. Back of its well organized publicity are the mysterious funds on which it never reports publicly. Certainly no labor organization has contributed to it. The bosses who pay the piper call the tune.

But there is no mystery about Russian labor and the conditions under which it works. The facts can easily be learned, and not from Soviet sources necessarily. Thousands of American economists, engineers, union officers and rank and filers, university and business people have been in Russia in the past ten years. They went over wondering what they would see. Most of them were opposed to the revolutionary concepts underlying the Soviet regime; whatever their thoughts about the Soviet philosophy on their return, they at least were unanimous that Soviet Russia has made furthest progress in social legislation, in freeing workers from the chains of doubt and insecurity that bind them about in every western land. Whether it be social legislation, protection of labor, improvement of wages, hours

and conditions, Russia has a clear and open record ready for the world to see. The facts are plain, simple, open. They are shrouded in none of the devious fantasies that envelope Woll's "forced labor" fabrications.

Where does Woll get his information on Russia? He has never been there although hundreds of American capitalists who hate Communism quite thoroughly have spent weeks and even months seeing Russia for themselves. Knowledge of the Soviet Union is unnecessary — even superfluous — for Woll and his Civic Federation rumor factory. So many of their allegations are made out of whole cloth that any liar of reasonable imagination could have thought them up. Others feed on half truths. None represents the research of open-minded investigators.

The financing of anti-Soviet lies comes from Sir Henri Deterding, the oil magnate, and other capitalist adventurers who lost their rights over Russian labor and resources through the Bolshevik revolution. Their agents are Russian monarchists who yearn for the restoration of Czarism and the old landed estates. Russian social democrats who oppose the dictatorship of the Communist Party and yearn for a democracy that never was on land or sea and Russian social revolutionaries who believe Russia should be a peasant land rather than an industrialized country unconsciously lend themselves to the reactionary forces lined up against Russia.

Against this sort of thing, place the unemotional reports of careful American economists such as Paul Douglas, Rexford G. Tugwell, Stuart Chase and scores more. These show that Russian wages equal or exceed wages in any other Continental country. Hours of labor are lower in the Soviet Union than in any other country in the world. Social insurance is far more comprehensive. Industrial democracy is real. These are facts beside which Woll's yarns blow away in thin smoke. Against the authorities which sponsor these facts, the National Civic Federation can cite no outstanding American economist, no matter how conservative.

Soviet enemies like to compare the Russian wage averaging 73.5 rubles (\$36.75) a month in September, 1929, with the \$10-15 daily pay of American

building mechanics. It is curious that any American trade union leader should play into employers' hands by boasting about the American wage scale at a time when drastic wage cuts are the order of the day. Any effort, of course, to compare American and Russian living standards is absurd. Russia industrially is where America was a half century ago, just coming out of a primitive agricultural economy. In another generation, perhaps before, it is extremely likely that Russian standards will excel American—unless American workers take control of industry into their own hands.

Wage Comparisons

But is a Russian worker worse off, say, than his comrade in France or Belgium? Compare for example the wages in the Mat typewriter factory—a typical one—in St. Denis, an industrial suburb of Paris. There a girl beginner makes \$3.15 a week, women average \$3.84 and foremen make the top wage of \$9.60. A British worker who averages \$10-15 a week is fortunate indeed. German miners are working for \$6 a week.

It must be remembered, too, that money has greater purchasing power abroad—a fact well known to any American tourist. Wage comparisons should be made internationally against a certain standard of living based on rent, food and clothing. In such a case the Russian worker's standard goes up even more; his rent cannot exceed 10 per cent of his wages and is often less. Work clothing is generally furnished by the factory. Food comes from non-profit cooperative stores. The landlord and the mer-

chant are not fixtures on the Russian landscape. Still another factor are the constantly increasing wages in Russia, contrasted with a steady drop in all capitalist nations, American included. Last year the rise for all Russian workers was 9.5 per cent. Here is a tabulation of Russian wage scales for October 1928-Sept. 1929 (quite a bit lower than the present scale):

	Rubles
Monthly average for insured workers	69.68
Metal mining	61.60
Coal mining	59.54
Metal	80.56
Textile	55.82
Leather	86.50
Permanent rail workers	72.97

Supplementary to wages is social insurance. All payments are made by the employing organizations; Russian industry does not make labor pay for its own unemployment and sickness. Payments for temporary disability, beginning immediately, are 100 per cent of the wage, compared with the niggardly fraction allotted by such a liberal state as New York. For the totally disabled the compensation is likewise 100 per cent of the wage if constant care is needed; otherwise 75 per cent. In case of death, dependents receive 66-75 per cent of the worker's wage if he was head of the family. Although a rich and powerful nation such as America pleads it cannot afford old age pensions, many industries in struggling Russia, just emerging from medievalism, pay pensions of 50 per cent of the wage to aged workers.

Still another advantage Russian workers won through their revolution

is the short workday. One of the first decrees of the infant Soviet government in November, 1927, was the 8-hour day. Now in textiles and other industries characterized by monotonous processes, the 7-hour day is being introduced. Already workers in hazardous trades and employed at night, work seven hours or less. Soviet industry is being placed on the 5-day week, which for workers means four days' work and one day's rest contrasted with six on and one off in the United States.

Decreasing Unemployment

Perhaps the Soviet Union's proudest boast, however, is that now in a time of world-wide depression she is the only "white spot" on the black map of hard times. Only in Russia is unemployment decreasing. While men and women storm the free job office in New York City, Moscow factory engineers plead for more skilled help and the apprentice schools rush their students through as fast as they can. Between April 1, 1929, and April 1, 1930, the number of unemployed declined from 1,741,000 to 1,081,000. By June 1 the total had dropped to 900,000.

There are practically no skilled workers out of jobs in the Soviet Union today; instead there is an acute shortage. The great majority of the 900,000 jobless are peasants from the country or those seeking work for the first time. With the success of farm collectivization, the usual inflow from the country has slackened. The Moscow jobless, it seems, are rather choosy about the jobs they take. For months a sign stayed up asking for men and

A NEW WORKERS' CITY



Modern homes built at Stalingrad tractor plant.

women as watchmen in warehouses at 65 rubles a month with working clothes thrown in, but there were few takers.

Security for Russian Workers

Ten million workers—nearly all there are—now receive the protection of various sorts of social insurance. In 1927-28, 570,000 workers were receiving compensation for accidents and sickness. 350,000 families were receiving compensation for loss of the breadwinner, 765,000 were receiving unemployment insurance and 530,000 were sent away to sanitariums and rest homes. For 1929 the social insurance budget called for \$560,000,000. Its provisions are being extended to include farm workers.

In the land of "forced labor" nearly every worker belongs to a trade union. No yellow dog contracts bind him to the boss; no judges wait obediently to hand down injunctions to their friends, the employers. Union membership is nearing the 11,000,000 mark. Special concessions are made to unionists; they get food cheaper, rebates at theaters, preferential treatment in cooperatives. The union card is the real badge of useful industrial citizenship

and the union worker is drawn into every form of activity he can desire. The factory committee, club and reading room develop his ability along whichever line he chooses. If he is intelligent, able and a hard worker, he may be drawn into the Communist Party and thus join the organization of one and a half million men and women which guides Russian policy. Always there is avid search for ability in the lower ranks and a deliberate policy of rushing the more able up the line, whether in factory, cooperative or political life.

These are the facts.

Contrast them with the vague stories of "forced labor," unsubstantiated, based on hear-say or sheer malevolence. Try to think of forced labor in a country where groups of workers in factories of the same industry engage each other in Socialist competition to build up their country industrially. Ask yourself whether in the face of this mass enthusiasm of a people building a new social order, Cossacks are needed to stand guard with knout and saber. Best of all, ask the irresponsible mongers of hatred against the workers' republic to stand and deliver their facts—if any. Demand that they produce proof as well as charges. Strip their statements of hysteria, rage and self-interest and see how little remains that can be trusted. In that way the truth about Russia will be revealed.

Talk to any Russian factory worker and you are struck by his attitude of owning the factory. "Last year we made enough money to start a nursery for the women to leave their babies in," he will say proudly. Or "we added 100 books to the factory library." Or "we have built a fine

A RUSSIAN WOMAN WORKER



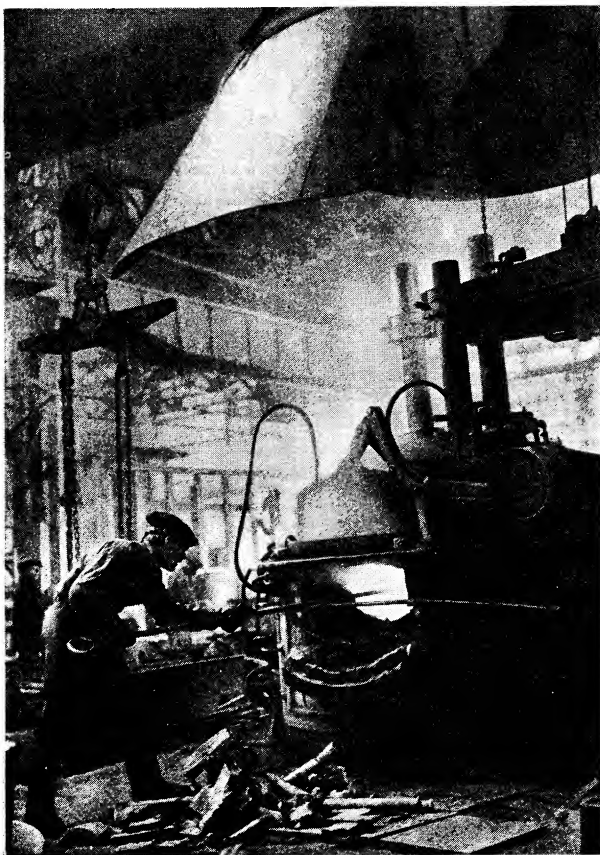
With a 2000 watt lamp manufactured at the Moscow "Electrozavod."

new club." Always "We." Perhaps he is complaining instead of boasting—but still it is "we." For example, "we found two of our manager staff were grafting this spring. Took for themselves money that should have raised our wages. Lucky our workers' factory committee has the right to look through all the books. They weren't clever enough for our Vanya—he saw through them."

With sharp tongues the workers berate their managers, foremen, each other and themselves at production conferences. "Why doesn't the work go better? We only increased production 25 per cent this first half-year instead of 30 per cent as was planned." At first the discussion sounds like a free-for-all but out of the clash of ideas real constructive suggestions emerge. Here are not the staid respectful manners of the company union meeting, but the rude vitality of workers calling their stewards to account.

It is true that Russian workers toil intensely nowadays, though hours are short. The cause is directly opposite to Matthew Woll's explanation—"forced labor." They toil because they feel they are working for themselves instead of some boss, and they perceive that they are building a better life, raising wages, and increasing their cultural facilities yearly. That is why workers of different factories set high, hard tasks for themselves, and challenge other factories to "Socialist competition" to equal them. The competitive spirit is a vital human force, but instead of directing it to grabbing in as under capitalism, they attach it under "Socialist competition" to producing and building up.

AN ELECTRIC STEEL FURNACE



A corner of the Moscow "Dynamo" machine building works.

Who Shall Organize--and How?

An Analysis of the Progressive Policy

By A. J. MUSTE

ORGANIZE the unorganized" has been the foremost plank in the platform of progressive laborites. They have contended, in season and out, that aggressive efforts must be made to bring into the unions the masses of the workers in the basic industries which are now the strongholds of the open shop and the company union.

Certain requirements will have to be met by those who are to accomplish this gigantic task.

1. *The task of organizing the basic industries must be approached with a sound philosophy of theory as to the basis of effective unionism.* The American Federation of Labor nowadays for the most part makes the appraisal from the standpoint of the employer. It seeks to persuade him that he has nothing to lose and much to gain by organizing his workers into trade unions. It assumes and proclaims that there is no great divergence between the interest of the employer and that of the employe. We hold that no bona fide union can be built on that basis, any more than any present A. F. of L. union was set up in this way. For if it be true that between the boss and the worker, the profit-taker and the wage earner, there is no real divergence of interest, nothing over which to struggle seriously, then obviously the boss is right in his contention that an open shop or a company union is as good as a trade union. If, on the other hand, divergence of interest exists, if there is something the workers cannot get save by united struggle, then the only sound basis on which to build a union is the militancy, strength and courage of the workers. Then you have to go to the workers and urge them to organize for what they can get out of it in food, liberty and justice. Unless the A. F. of L. will again proceed on this militant basis, its day as an instrumentality for organizing the unorganized is done.

The Mistake of Radicals

On the other hand, radicals constantly, whether consciously or unconsciously, tended to make the mistake of trying to organize workers into unions primarily on the basis of subscribing to some social, economic or political creed, and there are radicals

today who make the same mistake. On this basis, however, you can organize propaganda societies but not unions. Unions must include workers with varied viewpoints. The test of inclusion is employment in a given industry. The basis for organization is the workers' sense of their immediate needs. The intelligent radical will be confident that once organized, workers will come to see the need for more and more fundamental measures and that they will have a chance to sharpen this insight.

2. *A sound idea of the structure of unions in the basic industries is required.* Industrial, not craft unions are needed, as everybody in theory agrees. It would be superfluous to mention the matter here, but for the very important fact that in practice A. F. of L. craft unions have not been willing to waive their jurisdictional claims in order, for example, that an effective campaign be waged in the automobile industry. If this position is adhered to, then again the A. F. of L. will have ceased to be an instrumentality for organizing workers.

Small Unions Preferred

3. *An effective will to organize is essential.* Again, in theory, everybody in the Labor Movement has a wish that all workers may be organized. The wrath of certain labor leaders when they are accused of no longer wanting to organize workers is natural and in one sense sincere. They think they want organization for all. But when it comes to the point of taking in more members when many are already unemployed, many labor leaders frankly balk, though the unorganized may constitute a considerable percentage of the trade. When it comes to taking in the unskilled or semi-skilled, again many balk. There are, moreover, labor leaders who undoubtedly have thought it out that they would rather have small unions of comparatively conservative workers, easily controlled, than large unions composed of masses who would very likely not be amenable to control by the present leadership. Other leaders act on the same basis, though they have not thought the thing through.

In such a situation the effective will to organize is lacking.

4. *Faith that the basic industries and that workers nowadays can be organized is necessary.* That faith is lacking in many quarters and not only among conservatives. It is unnecessary to labor the point.

The Only Way

5. *Only large-scale campaigns can accomplish the task.* This, too, is sufficiently obvious. The steel or the automobile industry cannot be organized one worker at a time, or one department, or one mill, or even one firm probably.

This obvious fact has, however, many implications, which need to be carefully considered. It means that the group which organizes must be capable of careful, advanced planning; must be informed on business conditions, shop conditions, workers' psychology, etc. The research for an organizing campaign under modern conditions is a huge job in itself. It means that huge sums of money will be needed for the organizing work, unless so much enthusiastic volunteer service can be had, and since there are no indications that the official Labor Movement can command large sums for a united effort in some industry it is likely that this work will have to be done by those who can rally volunteers. In any event large sums of money will be needed for strikes. The Movement does not have and does not seem likely to establish a big strike fund. Again, therefore, it seems probable that the work must be done by elements who know how to dramatize issues and conduct large scale campaigns and who can appeal for funds effectively in an emergency.

Since a large-scale campaign is essential and violent opposition can be counted on, the workers must be aroused to determination and enthusiasm. That means a great deal of preliminary education. It means, sooner or later, spectacular mass appeals and so-called evangelistic methods. It means developing a definitely labor psychology in the workers, holding ultimate and inspiring ideals before them. All this in turn suggests that labor political campaigns ought to be carried on. In some cases this may be

the only way in which the workers can at first be approached without being subject to victimization—and that workers must be won away from their allegiance to the boss's parties as well as from his fake unions. At the risk of becoming monotonous, we repeat that unless the A. F. of L. and its affiliated unions are prepared to adopt some such course as this, they can no longer serve as agencies for organizing workers.

Where We Differ With Communists

At this point some one may interrupt with the remark that what we have been saying is not so different from the story the Communists tell, so why not join them in their effort to build "militant unions"? For the present our reply may be stated briefly and dogmatically. We do not believe that the plan of having the policy of unions dictated by the Communist or any other political party can work. In general, any social organization must make its own decisions. If it is a mere puppet with some one else pulling the strings, it will be a puppet and not a vital, efficient organism. Conditions in this country are not such that an American Union movement can be planned for us in detail and built from Moscow, London, Berlin, Rome, Peking or Timbuctoo. It will have to be in the main built and planned right here.

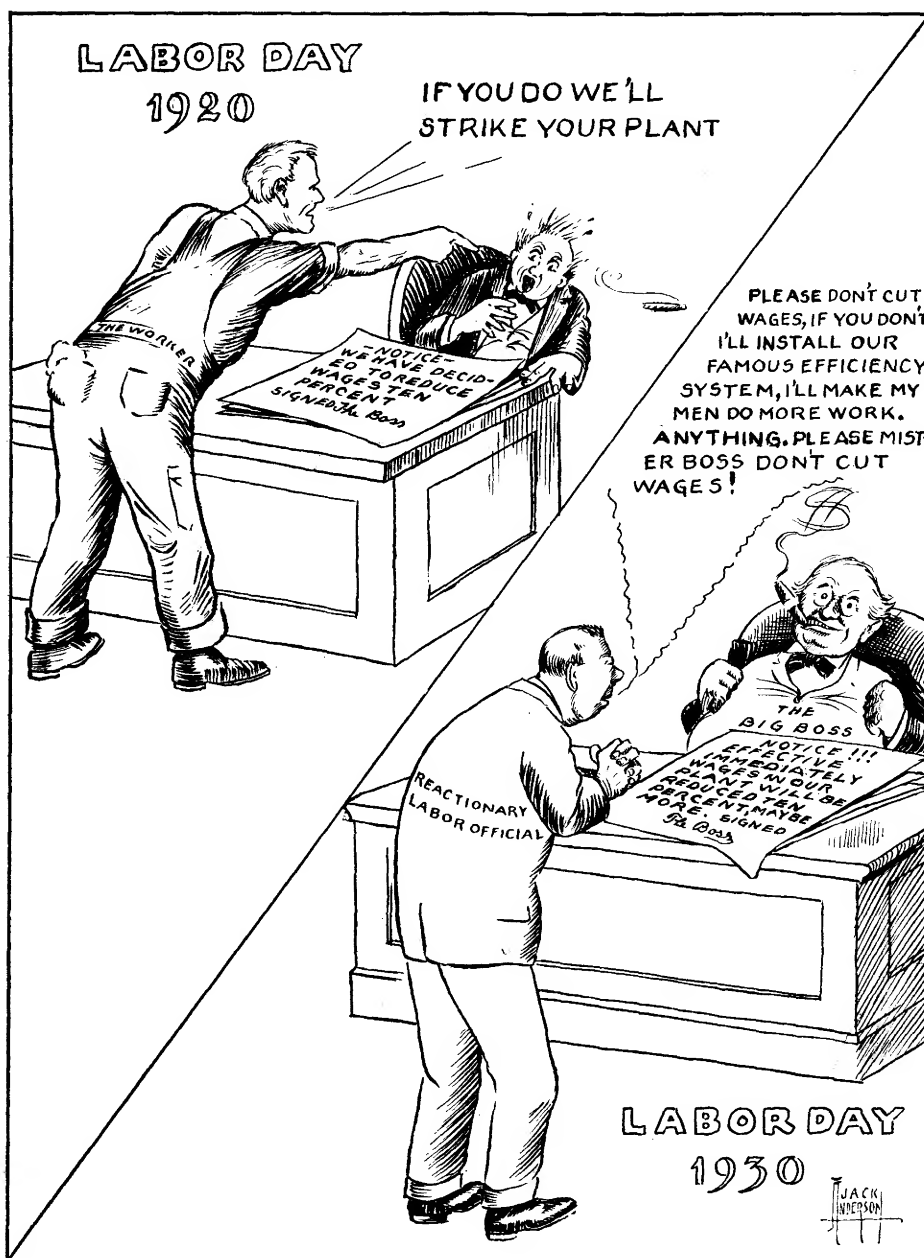
We are not at all sure that the Communist Party wants to build functioning industrial unions engaged in collective bargaining with employers. It is in a dilemma. If it is to confine itself to out-and-out revolutionary political activity, it cannot build unions which have to agree from time to time to certain compromises with the boss. If, on the other hand, it goes seriously into the business of building unions, it must sacrifice some of its revolutionary political activity. For the present, we believe, it prefers to be "revolutionary" and uses its union activity as another channel for agitation among the workers—which from its own standpoint may be good strategy or poor, but in either case the facts remain as they are. For much the same reason as just outlined, we doubt whether the Communists could build unions effectively if they wanted to. An agency which can perform one job well may for that very reason be unfitted for some other job. And where in recent years the Communists have had a chance, they certainly have not proved themselves masters at building or maintaining unions.

We disagree also with the Communist tactics of smashing so-called reactionary unions. Of course, occasions arise when a tree already dying has to be cut down and rooted out. In general the thing to do is to concentrate on building unions, not on smashing them. Many of them cannot be smashed, anyway. The notion that if you smash the International Ditch Diggers Union with ten thousand members and then organize five hundred of them into the Industrial Ditch Diggers Union which has a Communist preamble, you have done something great for the revolution, is childish. The propagandists of radicalism have to live with the workers and cannot change them overnight or by a wave

of the hand. After this brief excursion, we may point out one further requirement for the group which is to attempt to organize in the basic industries today.

6. *A sound collective bargaining policy is required.* Putting it crudely, one group is for making agreements with the employer on the misleading ground that he and his workers have identical interests. Eventually this ends in total lack of aggressiveness in promoting the workers' interests, in the false "conciliation" which permanently accepts a bad situation in which some men live only by the grace of others who control their destinies and the A. F. of L. becomes a cog in the Republican Party's machine. An-

A TALE OF TEN YEARS



other group wants life organized on an entirely new basis of cooperation. It draws the practical conclusions that you must never for a moment come to any bona fide agreement with the employers and that the quickest and only way to get a really new order is constantly to throw monkey-wrenches into the machinery of the present one.

A Pragmatic Policy

It is conceivable that both groups are mistaken; that we can distinguish between machinery, industry, technique and those who control these for private gain, and that up to a point at least one can seek to depose the latter without wrecking the former; that we can make collective agreements not on the basis of any false assumption that this is to the interest of the profit-takers as such or that in making agreements we accept the present economic system—capitalism, militarism, imperialism—as permanent, just or humane, but on the basis that in this way workers make tangible immediate gains in wages and hours and working conditions, and that if they and their leaders know what they are about, if they have not only unions but labor parties, cooperatives, a labor culture, they may go on to change their present status, to achieve justice and liberty as well as bread, to make a sane, warless and noble life for man on earth. This is not to say that working out such a policy is not a difficult and delicate task and it is not to assume that those who today control finance and industry are certain to permit important changes to happen peacefully. But nothing is to be gained by embracing a solution which seems simple but won't work. And the fact that workers in America may some day in some situation resort to arms in defense of their legally achieved gains does not mean that they will or should make needless and amateurish experiments in violence today.

Who, then, will organize the workers in our basic industries? Who will scale this most powerful rampart of capitalism in the world? The answer is that primarily the impulse must come from the workers themselves. Unless they feel wronged and have the will and the courage to right the wrongs which they suffer, unless they aspire to a better life than is now possible to man, nothing will be accomplished.

But every one who has recently had any intimate contact with the workers reports that thousands of them have the spirit of revolt in them and the fervent desire to organize. Why do we see no greater result? Simply be-

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cause every least indication of interest in organization any worker may show means discrimination, discharge, terrorization. The Supreme Court of North Carolina furnished us another lesson but a few days ago about this mysterious failure of American workers to organize when the sentences of strikers in the Marion and Gastonia cases were confirmed while the sheriffs and mob-leaders who terrorized and in cold blood killed strikers go scot free.

It follows that unless we are content to sit by and let black industrial autocracy dominate our basic industries, all workers and their friends must rally to the workers in these industries and give them every assistance in their effort to organize. Progressive laborites certainly will make every effort to help the workers in big industry to organize. They will try to inspire existing labor organizations wherever possible to such activity. But whether this is possible or not, they will carry on educational work awakening the workers to the needs and the possibilities of organization. They will advise as they may be able where organization efforts are launched. They will give aid in strikes or in lockouts.

The Conference for Progressive Labor Action has from the beginning been working along these lines. It will give much more attention to organization of the unorganized during the coming months.

"If This Be Treason"

It should be understood that we are trying to build unions, not to destroy them. We do not want to take work-

ers out of the A. F. of L. but to bring them in. There are certain things we will not do, however. We will not descend to pettiness and refuse to help workers who are honestly seeking to organize or who are engaged in a conflict with the boss, simply because they do not happen to be in the A. F. of L. Surely they are more likely to be won for the Movement if it helps rather than ignores them. We will not keep still about the wrongs of unions, their betrayal of the workers, their refusal to accept them into membership, because the unions happen to be A. F. of L. unions. No man is called upon to outrage his conscience for the sake of conformity to a particular branch of the Labor Movement. Progressive laborites will not aid unions which seek to divide workers in basic industries into impossible craft divisions—never again, if they can help it, will they permit workers to be so divided. If the A. F. of L. should refuse to admit into its membership bona fide industrial unions of workers in any of the basic industries, progressives would still advise these workers to maintain their industrial organization, since the alternative under modern conditions would be no organization at all. If this be treason, it is not a case of progressives being traitors to the A. F. of L. but of the A. F. of L. being a traitor to its own duty and responsibility.

Once again, it is time to cast aside our differences and to toil mightily to organize the masses of workers in the basic industries—skilled, semi-skilled and unskilled, regardless of creed, nationality or race—into militant industrial unions.

Next Steps By British Labor

NEW PROBLEMS AND TACTICS

By MARK STARR

B RITISH Labor faces a new, changing and difficult situation. The militant feeling of the post-war years culminated in the National Strike of 1926. The results of this were disappointing and there followed a period of attempted harmony. Instead of the employers starting a widespread campaign against the unions, the more farsighted of them invited the British Trades Union Congress into the Mond Conferences to discuss the possibility of cooperation in the changes which, it was felt, had to be made in British industry. There were opponents of the proposals among the unions but they were in a minority. The supporters of participation in the proposed National Industrial Council said that it was better for the unions to be on the *inside*, by way of joint councils, when industry was being rationalized. Lord Melchett (then Sir Alfred Mond) also had difficulties with his colleagues and the two employers' organizations, the Federation of British Industries and the National Confederation of Employers, only very tardily consented to set up consultation machinery. This at last in its final stages only in April, 1930, provides for discussions of matters of mutual interest agreed to by the three parties. This is a very tiny mouse out of the mountain which hailed the Mond Conferences as the start of a new era in labor-capital cooperation. Apparently the only result obtained by the unions was to stop the development of potential company unions. The ones which were started are of negligible size and diminishing influence. Many of the employers in the Mond Group did not change their tactics of wage reduction and even the conservative union leaders like Arthur Pugh have complained that rationalization is being applied at the expense of the workers.

The return of a second Labor government in 1929 turned the attention of Organized Labor to the political field. Lord Melchett built up his huge combine in the new chemical industries and advocated free trade within the Empire even before the press magnate Rothermere tried to stampede the Tory Party in that direction. The

Trades Union Congress has turned its main attention to recruiting members to arrest the fall caused by unemployment; it has taken up seriously the effect of industrial conditions on accidents and health; it has led a campaign of financial support to aid the wool workers in a long drawn out struggle to avoid the big wage-cut the employers proposed. Then, too, its leaders became members of the Economic Advisory Council set up by Premier MacDonald.

A Gloomy Prospect

However, the tenuous hold on life of a minority government and the lack as yet of a majority in the electorate will still give importance to the industrial relations of employers and employed when Labor will not be so prominent in political happenings as at the present moment. On both the industrial and political fields, the position is gloomy at the moment. By-elections show that the voters are losing faith. Unemployment has raced for the two million mark despite the five hundred million dollar public work schemes that have been adopted. Wages and trade union membership are falling. Both in the methods of tackling unemployment and in the attitude to the Indian Nationalist agitation, MacDonald is receiving internal party criticism. The only bright spots in the gloomy situation are the increase in trade with Soviet Russia (about forty-five million dollars in the six months ending March 31, 1930, compared to the two previous corresponding periods of about twenty and fourteen million dollars, with contracts of about seventy-five million dollars pending if the required credit can be given); the Ford factory at Dagenham to employ 20,000; and the immediate and phenomenal success of the DAILY HERALD since it changed ownership in March of this year.

Despite the conservativeness of the British employers, the rejuvenation and modernization of British industry has begun in earnest. In the case of coal, the proposal to allocate output quotas and to merge some of the small-

er mines is accompanied in the Coal Mines Bill by a proposal to reduce the miners' workday by one-half hour. When the British railroads were merged into four big concerns, the railway unions were able to insert in the necessary legislation a clause to prevent the companies dismissing employees unless they were compensated. But few of the other unions outside railway transport have been so fortunate.

Cotton suffered badly from anarchic production. Sir Herbert Samuel, the Liberal leader, advocated reorganization because there were in Lancashire alone 1,800 cotton spinning and weaving firms and 700 to 800 exporting merchants. This he contrasted with Japan where four firms produce 40 per cent of the cotton goods and three or four firms handle 70 to 80 per cent of the cotton goods export. Under the inspiration of the Governor of the Bank of England, the Lancashire Cotton Corporation was formed to unite 70 important mills as an initial step.

Bankers to the Rescue?

A further and more general participation of the financial interests in promoting the rationalization of industry was announced to the House of Commons on April 15, 1930 by Mr. J. H. Thomas. He explained that the Bankers Industrial Development Company was going to finance the reconstruction of groups of companies in the basic industries and his blessing was thought to ensure the compliance of the organized workers in any such scheme. Some of Mr. Thomas' colleagues did not share Mr. Thomas' enthusiasm for the bankers in the role of the saviors of industry. The DAILY HERALD editorially, while granting the need for reorganizing industry, was anxious about the lack of social control and of government sanction for the loans which the new financial concern, closely linked up with the Bank of the Government, would make. Previously in January the Bank of England had arranged new capital of a quarter million pounds sterling for the United Dominions Trust to finance purchases of goods. The Bankers Industrial Development Company carried through its first big rationaliza-

tion in May when it merged five leading coal, iron and steel firms into two with a combined capital of about forty million dollars. Mr. Norman, as the price of financial aid, received the right to nominate the directors of both concerns. The next big reorganization was in shipbuilding and steel concerns. John Brown and Co. and Thomas Firth and Sons, Ltd., were to unite after drastic reduction in the capital of the former by eight shillings to every twenty. The tendency to amalgamation will receive a big impetus. If the above procedure becomes a precedent all these mergings will place control in the hands of the bankers because the Bank of England is not subject to national control.

While the Bank of England acts, Mr. MacDonald has set up an Economic Advisory Council with a small staff of experts. The Council consists at present of MacDonald, Snowden, J. H. Thomas, W. Graham and the Minister of Agriculture by virtue of their Cabinet offices. Members from outside the government include a present leaders in steel, oil, finance, electricity, railways and research. Mr. Blair of the Co-operative Movement, Bevin and Citrine of the Trades Union Congress, and the experts and economists J. M. Keynes, Sir J. C. Stamp, G. D. H. Cole and H. H. Tawney are among the best known of the other members. As at present constituted and with only a secretarial staff of three, the Council is only a timid step to any sort of Gosplan.

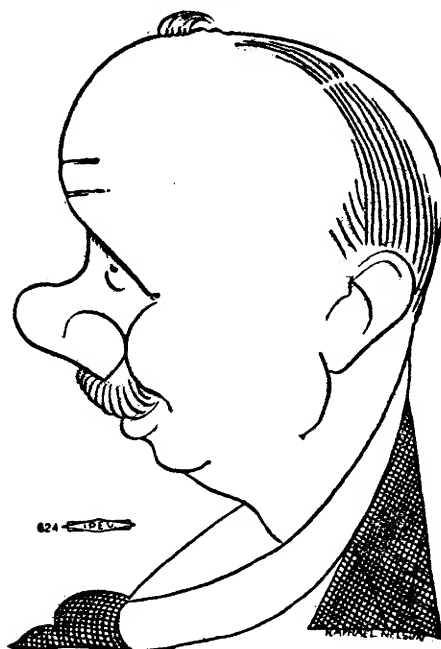
Alarmed Over Rationalization

Already the workers in Britain have seen enough of rationalization to feel alarmed of what may happen when the movement gets into full swing. John Hill, secretary of the Boilermakers Union, has shown how new methods have reduced the labor force in shipbuilding. Comparing 1921 with 1929, the tonnage built went up from 1,538,052 to 1,560,254 (an increase of over 22,000 tons); the men employed decreased from 229,379 to 156,938. The TIMES TRADE SUPPLEMENT showed what had also happened in the woolen industry. During the last ten years some 500 firms, representing 23 per cent of all those who were in existence in 1918, have now passed out of existence. Seven thousand looms have been scrapped or sold abroad and 25,000 persons have gone out of the industry and of the remainder 40,000 are unemployed. Here is a position similar to the U. S. A. in this respect for according to official figures 42 per cent more goods have been produced

by a working force seven per cent smaller. The British employers oppose compensation for displacement, which is after all only a palliative. Apparently the industrialists will cut their losses and look forward to the future benefits to be derived when they can win back a greater share of the world markets. Meanwhile the worker will continue to suffer.

One or two leaders, like Tillett and Brownlie, have played with the idea of Empire trade assisted by tariffs but

ECONOMIC COUNCIL MEMBER



J. H. THOMAS

A caricature of the labor leader who strongly favors cooperation with the bankers to save British industry.

the proposals from the left wing are of a different order. These emphasize that if foreign trade increased by an impossible 50 per cent not half the unemployed would be absorbed. They stress the necessity of increasing the internal market. Increased productivity must be met by reducing the workday and increasing the wages. The veterans must be pensioned out of industry and the children kept longer in school to prevent a surplus of workers. The Independent Labor Party advocates the "living wage," a legal minimum and the reorganization of any industry that cannot pay it. Conscious social control would be started by an Economic Council which would control imports and definitely foster the growth of new industries and the production of food at home. Large scale schemes of national work

improving roads, housing and recreational facilities to be immediately put in hand.

So far all such proposals have been frowned upon because the Chancellor of the Exchequer objects to raising the finance involved and because Liberal support could not be secured for them. The MacDonald government feels that even if unemployment is made worse by capitalist rationalization, it will be better able to help the workers by remaining in office than by coming out to get sufficient powers for more drastic action.

Family Allowances

However, there is one proposal which has been approved by a majority of the joint Labor Party and Trades Union Congress Committee and which will be debated at the respective annual meetings in the fall. That is the proposal to give family allowances at the rate of \$1.25 weekly for the first child and about 75 cents for each subsequent child. It is claimed that this would bring about seventy million dollars yearly to the income of the working class which would create the needed internal purchasing power. Infant mortality is still high (76,062 children under 15 years died in Britain in 1928) and this is ascribed in part to poverty. The principle has already been recognized by the extra allowance for children in the unemployment insurance payments and the remission of taxation by allowances for children. Unlike such schemes adopted in France, Germany and Belgium, it is proposed to meet the cost by direct taxation.

Opposition comes from the unions who fear the effect of such payments on accepted wage rates and who would prefer a minimum wage. There would be an outcry from those taxed to provide the revenue. The Miners' Federation supports this proposal because such an income would be independent of strikes and take the child out of the firing line.

The results of the agitation will be interesting. Certainly it deserves consideration as an attempt to bridge the gulf between production and consumption which rationalization deepens daily. If the unions are not in a position to win by industrial action the higher wage and the shorter workday which modern productivity should bring within reach, by political action through their control over the State they may be able to socialize income. Meanwhile the necessity for the social changes will appear more obvious to the majority necessary to bring it about.

Black Star Mothers

By TOM TIPPETT

WHILE traveling through the coal fields of West Virginia this summer, we ran across what I suppose is the most extraordinary coal pile in the world. We saw it first in the yard of a mining camp. The house was small and looked like any one of a thousand drab cottages where coal diggers live. The pile was in the back yard and towered so high that it surrounded three sides of the cottage and was massed up eight or ten feet above it. At first we thought a steam shovel was at work and that the next load would completely cover the house. There was enough coal already in that pile to load several large railroad cars—hundreds of tons heaped up covering windows and doors.

We could see that the house was occupied, and that it was not a coal yard as at first we supposed. There was a fence all around, no rails or any other road in the yard, not even a gate of any kind. How was the coal hauled into the miner's yard? How could it be piled so high? Why is it there, and does a miner's family intend all of it for the kitchen stove? These questions we asked one another.

Just over the hill from where we stood there was a mine at work that day. We could see the tippie and feel the shaker's steady jar. All the earth where we stood was covered with the inevitable dust. It was easy to associate the coal pile with the mine, but this association did not explain how the coal could be transported half a mile over the hill to the miner's cottage in front of which we were standing.

As we stood watching, a woman appeared on the scene; an old woman, ragged and bent. She walked toward us—up over the hill from the mine. She carried a sack of coal on her back, swaying a little under its weight, as she trudged along. She did not notice us. We drew back in the shade of a tree to let her pass. It was August. There had been no rain for months, and the sun beat down a terrific heat cooking the earth. The old woman drew near, mumbling inaudible words to herself. She dropped the sack over the fence, crawled through the wire, lifted it on her back again and climbed on hands and knees up the mountain of coal. On top she stood up and emptied the sack. The black pieces fell tumbling down the sides of the coal

pile. The woman bent over with a steady gaze, shook the sack out to the last speck of dust, then she bent over still lower and scratched about, obviously looking for some object she could not find. Presently she climbed down the pile and went, muttering, into the house and slammed the door.

"A crazy woman," we all said simultaneously after we gained our breath, for we had stood speechless during the strange performance. But we knew there was more to the story than mere insanity, and meeting a young miner further down the row of houses we inquired what it all meant.

"Oh, that. Why that's old Mrs. Daves," he said. "She's crazy, you know. Still looking for her man who was lost in the big blow-up at number eight quite a while ago."

He didn't know the details, but from his lead we got the story. In the office of the FAIRMONT TIMES we asked

MONUMENT TO HER DEAD



Photo by Tom Tippet
A miner's insane wife has carried this coal from the mine mouth to her back yard since 1907—a bag full at a time.

about the mine accident. The editor remembered, and ushered us into the room where the files were kept. We turned the pages backward to December 6, 1907. There it was in screaming headlines—an explosion story that at the time shook the community to its foundations. Now safely tucked away in musty newspaper records it is forgotten, except by old Mrs. Daves who has lived with the horrors for twenty-three years.

II.

It happened in a forenoon of the first week in December; the miners were commencing their Christmas pay. Between four and six hundred coal diggers were at work in number six and number eight, two non-union mines, operated side by side by the Consolidation Coal Company. The place was Monongah, a coal camp sixteen miles out of Fairmont, where King Coal occupies his throne in West Virginia. Monongah is a camp inhabited by Poles and Italians who made up the working force on that December morning when the mines blew up. In their homes, that day, the miners' wives and children thought of Christmas. A Catholic church covered with coal soot was preparing to bring out the image of the little Christ, and to put him in the manger with Mary. Bells rang out from the dirty church steeple. Monongah priests were reminding their flock that joy and peace had come to the world; a Savior had been born. It is all recorded in the columns of the FAIRMONT TIMES.

In the midst of pre-Christmas bells, another sound broke the air. The earth reverberated, houses shook, window panes shattered, fell in pieces from their frames. Then followed another tremor of the earth, chimneys toppled from house-tops; children fled from school—an earthquake as at home in Italy. Once outside the frightened people met the truth. The mine. The mine! Pouring out of the slope, where hundreds of men had walked in to their work a few hours before, were huge columns of smoke. The tippie, fan house, and all that had been a coal mine that morning, was now a tangled mass of flames. Both mines had blown up—fathers, husbands, sweethearts, sons, were inside dying. Away sped Monongah's women to the inferno in which their men were burning.

Then follow, recorded hour after hour, day after day, in the newspaper

file, the horrible details. So terrific was the double explosion that the street cars running from Fairmont to the camps were put out of commission. Automobiles were not as plentiful then as now, so doctors and nurses could not reach the mine. But their services were not necessary. Every man and boy in both mines was dead. In the end 425 bodies were recovered, many others not properly recorded at the mine were never found, but not one man that went into either mine on December 6 came out alive. America has never before or since had a mine accident as great as this one.

Press correspondents from the whole nation hurried to Monongah. Once again the plight of coal diggers was reported to the country. Theodore Roosevelt was president of the United States. He sent Monongah the customary message, Italy and Poland despatched attachés from their embassies in Washington to the stricken mining camp. John Mitchell, president of the United Mine Workers of America, urged mine-workers to organize to lessen future accidents. Mr. Andrew Carnegie sent his sympathy and \$35,000 to feed the widows and orphans.

A dozen different local civic bodies set up committees to administer mercy. All eyes turned to Monongah and all hearts beat sympathetically. The officers of the Consolidation Coal Company stayed at the mine and wrung their hands in unison with every body else. Newspaper men waxed eloquent with vivid heart-rending accounts of the catastrophe to jar the holiday news.

However in this kaleidoscopic jumble of people vying with one another to bring comfort to the stricken mining camps, a few were cautious. The second paragraph of the first extra announcing the explosion says in bold type that:

"From the meager details which can be secured it is impossible to state the exact cause of the explosion, but it is certain that it is not due in any way to the carelessness of the mine officials."

In every following issue the same sentiment appears. Four days after the accident Colonel McDermott, president of the West Virginia Senate came to investigate. His report said: "It is just one of those things that happen." In the next session of the West Virginia legislature a mine safety bill was defeated. It was common knowledge then as now that all explosions in coal mines are unnecessary if

operators care to spend enough money to prevent them.

Many bodies were never identified—perhaps one-half of them. Fire following the explosion blocked rescue work. Days went into weeks before the work of bringing the dead out of the mine was finished. The newspaper files report in one issue, six days after the blast, "one hundred and thirty-eight bodies out," and in another column, "fifty men at work digging graves day and night." And again the following day, "two hundred and thirty-four bodies recovered," and so on one day after another. The dead men were laid in the blacksmith shop at the mine. Unless someone identified them within an hour they were buried—the un-

tightly drawn ropes. One Italian woman whose husband, son or brother was among the doomed, tore out her hair, and with her nails cut gashes in her face . . . friends carried her home."

Scenes back in the camp were described too. A woman reporter says: "A Christmas wedding has been postponed. A lovely young Polish girl fondles her bridal finery and clutches her heart. Her sweetheart was carried out a lump of mangled flesh yesterday."

And further in the same story the record continues: "A baby was born in Monongah this morning. Its mother saw her oldest son carried out of the mine yesterday. The body of her father is still to be recovered."

UNADORNED AND UNHONORED

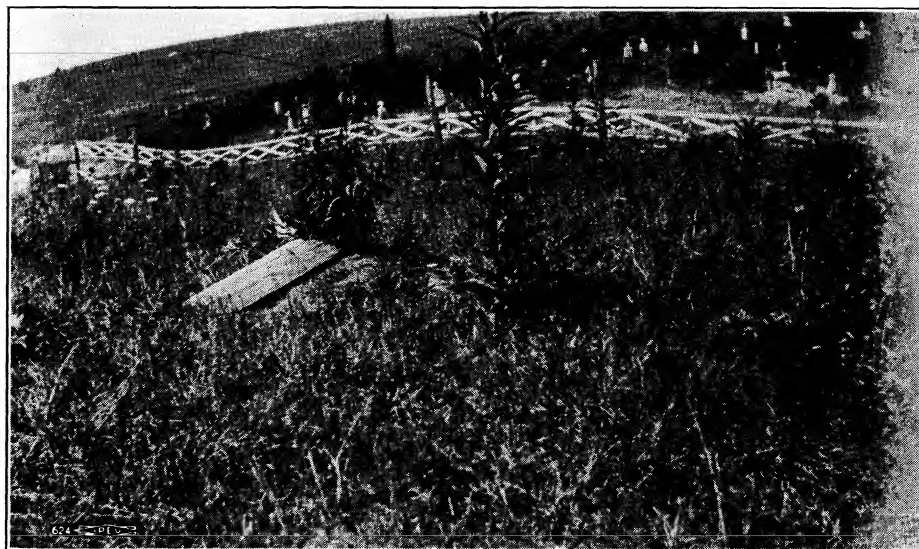


Photo by Tom Tippet

In the foreground is the cemetery where lie the unidentified bodies of miners killed in the Monongah mine disaster of 1907, which took more than 500 lives. No monument—only a small, rotting wooden marker identifies this place as a burial ground.

known dead. The December 12 issue of the files says: "One hundred and forty-one bodies, over which no services were held, were buried today in the potters field."

III.

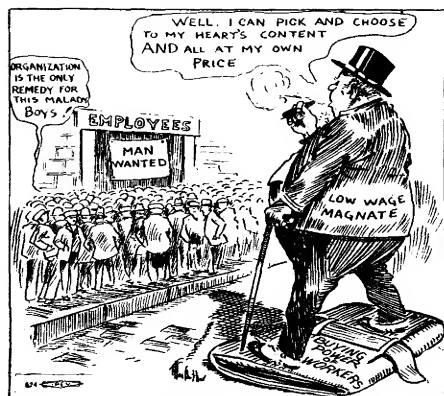
In some such group of dead men was Mrs. Daves' husband. He had left their home the morning of the explosion for work in number eight—the same home in which she still lives, and where she piles up the coal. She was one of the frantic women who was held by force from running into the fire. She was there day by day, week by week, rushing from one burnt body to another trying to find her man. Of these women the newspaper correspondent said:

"All day long frantic women grouped around the mine, held at bay by

By December 17, the story was off the front page; by Christmas the theatres opened again; by New Year's Day the Catholic Sisters had placed most of the one thousand children in orphan asylums. Number six and number eight were being prepared for operation again. The cause of the explosion was never published although it was certain, the newspaper said, that the Coal Company was in no wise to blame. The record does not say what became of the three hundred widows—or the other women.

The numbers of the mines were changed, coal began to come from their slopes once more, and Fairmont set about to forget the accident.

The Monongah cemetery is full of graves. Uniform markers give the
(Continued on page 29)



Locomotive Engineers' Journal

The machine makes this possible.

FORD and Edison both picture the machine age in almost idyllic beauty when they say it promotes individuality and happiness. This, too, despite the cataclysmic wars which it engenders and makes possible. This, too, despite the paralyzing fear as to its untoward possibilities with which it inflicts whole peoples.

The machine age makes mere appendages of men. What individuality or happiness has an auto worker who must be chained to the machine he operates? What individuality or happiness has the standardized and factory regulated employee in the machine age? And the workers with irregular, uncertain employment, who are hired and fired as conditions demand, what individuality and happiness are theirs? Likewise with the displaced workers? Individuality and happiness must be synonymous with uncertainty, servility and conformity in the vocabularies of Ford and Edison.

* * *

Take the newspapers and see what light they shed on the machine age. Farmers are leaving the farms. They have to forego the individuality and happiness that farming once made possible for them. Why? Read this and see:

"Iowa City, Ia.—Prof. C. A. Hatton of Northwestern University, ridiculed the claim that farmers are flocking to cities out of sheer perversity.

"There is no greater mistake than this assumption," said Prof. Hatton at a conference of educators at the University of Iowa.

"Economic pressure, resulting from the fact that fewer men are required to produce the same amount of food with modern machinery, is causing the rural shift," he said."

* * *

Next take a look at this:

New York, Aug. 2.—The new federal census shows a pronounced drift to cities and an abandonment of farm life, accord-

The March of the Machine

By JUSTUS EBERT

ing to Dr. Walter Laidlaw of the Cities' Census Committee.

Agriculture, he points out, was abandoned in New York State five times faster during the past five years than during the five which preceded.

* * *

And then this, from the Locomotive Engineers' Journal:

Factory System For Farming

Mass farming, which makes farmers into wage workers, may be introduced shortly in North Carolina, if plans of August Hecksher, New York capitalist, and Thomas D. Campbell, Montana wheat rancher, materialize. Ten thousand mules and 18,000 plowhands will be replaced by 250 tractors and 800 men on 250,000 acres leased or bought by the capitalists.

Beagragged farmhouses will thus give way to tractor shops and tenant hovels to barracks. Instead of the ancient credit system built on the tenant farmer's modest wagonloads of stuff hauled blindly to market, the new company will start with \$50,000,000 of operating capital.

* * *

There is sure lots of "individuality and happiness" in store for the farmers that suffer these machine age consequences. And then think of what "individuality and happiness" this machine revolution, with its economic upheavals, will impose on society in general in the future. It's not a beautiful picture to conjure up.

* * *

Having got through with the farmers read this:

Machines Oust Clerks

Washington.—Machinery in the United States Census Office, operated by 1,000 clerks, is doing the work of 10,000 employees. The machine was first used in 1890 and has since been developed. It is used throughout the business world.

* * *

Finally reflect on this:

"Machine displacement of workers is not new, but the rate at which it has developed in the past ten years makes it a special problem," said William Green, president of the A. F. of L., in urging the House Judiciary Committee

to favor three Wagner unemployment bills.

President Green presented a startling list of human displacements by automatic and improved processes.

"The producing power of the average wage earner increased 11 per cent in the 20 years from 1899 to 1919, but in the short space of ten years from 1919 to 1929 (half as long) it increased 53 per cent.

"In 1918," he said, "it took one man a whole day to make 40 electric light bulbs. The next year came a machine that made 73,000 bulbs in 24 hours. Each of these machines threw 992 men out of work. In the boot and shoe industry 100 machines take the place of 25,000 men. In the manufacture of razor blades one man can now turn out 32,000 blades in the same time needed for 500 in 1913.

"In automobile factories similar changes have taken place. In a Middle Western State today a huge machine turns out completed automobile frames almost untouched by human hand. About 200 men are needed to supervise this vast machine, and they turn out between 7,000 to 9,000 frames a day. The same forces are operating in steel mills, blast furnaces, machine shops, and every other branch of production and distribution.

"The great changes have so limited the number of wage earners needed in our manufacturing industries that men and women are forced into idleness. To be sure, some jobs are created in the service industries, where employment has been increasing in the last decade, but these are not nearly enough to make up for the change in manufacturing."

President Green declared that 6,000,000 new jobs are needed in this country. "Since 1919," he said, "the normal increase in population has brought over 5,500,000 more persons who want work as wage earners, while jobs in manufacturing have decreased 585,000."

If Ford and Edison will tell us where these new jobs are coming from, with machinery destroying the old ones, we'll believe their contentions. Otherwise, nothing doing.

Following the Fight

By LOUIS FRANCIS BUDENZ

C. P. L. A. AND THE UNIONS

PROSPERITY astigmatism is deserting the eyes of the Sovereign Citizen. That joyful affliction can no longer buoy up his courage. Through one optic at least he perceives vaguely that we do have sizeable unemployment here, as well as in other parts of the globe, and that it bids fair to be here for some time to come.

Republican assistant commander-in-chief Lucas waxes wroth thereat, becoming peeved that any one should chide his party for the depression. Democratic Senator King answers in like spirit with the same old ballyhoo: that his party would have been blamed for present gray days had it been in power. Neither has any remedy to suggest, except pious hopes.

Articles begin to appear increasingly in papers and magazines on the unemployment issue. They generally evade and skirt the question, with a monotonous obviousness. A writer in the *NEW YORK TIMES* of August 17th devotes almost an entire page to the subject, without once hinting that the Profit System may be the basic cause of it all; even though two of our most conservative economic thinkers suggested that very idea some time ago. We refer, of course, to Messrs Foster and Catchings.

Organized labor is equally timid, and we still await pronouncement by the A. F. of L. in favor of unemployment insurance. Collaboration with Hoover has brought the highest out-of-work record for the unionized building trades since 1921. It has produced nothing but wage cut after wage cut. Should it be argued that there is nothing else to do about it, may we again suggest that the out-of-works might at least be provided for, since dividends flow so freely.

Wherever we touch economic problems—as in this case of unemployment—we run across the necessity of the Progressive program. For a time conservative labor may toy with the old ideas, but they will prove eventually no ideas at all. Just as economic pressure will compel unemployment insurance, so will it relentlessly demand industrial unionism, flaming militancy and a labor party.

As the C. P. L. A. program grows in necessity, so will the C. P. L. A. increase as a factor in the American labor scene. In little more than a year, it has already made itself felt appreciably. There are unions which must acknowledge that its cooperation, as well as its criticism, has been of value. It is a bit amusing, nevertheless, that in many unions there is a constant fear of that cooperation, on the part of certain groups. This fear is, that the C. P. L. A. will "capture" these unions, while doing good services for them.

This sort of set-up is a hang-over, clearly, from Communist experiences. The thought that any group is interested in revitalizing the Movement and in advancing ideas rather than in manipulating offices and officers is so new to the conservative labor world that it seems impossible. That is exactly the viewpoint of the C. P. L. A., none the less. What we want to see is new life in the Movement, new drive, new organizing efforts. And we say that these will not come, fully and effectively under

present conditions, except by a more far-reaching and fundamental policy than any that the A. F. of L. has as yet adopted.

Our eyes, moreover, look in the direction of the basic industries. Whether it would be worth while to "capture" many craft unions is a debatable question. The machine is eating at their vitals. The fate of the musicians will be visited upon other groups of unionized craftsmen. Time and invention are playing their fatal part in the disintegration of the craft union organization. Our voices are raised to assert that craft unions should be alive to these developments, and should become more quickly sensitive to the growing need for industrial forms of organization. Were it not for that fact, we could turn our thoughts exclusively to oil, steel, textiles, automobiles, aircraft and transportation. In these fields thousands of unorganized workers menace the future of industrial democracy. But—and here is the rub—if organization were to be successfully prosecuted in any of these divisions, craft unions would come in to divide up the workers. It is on that account that we are compelled to continue hammering at the unionized crafts to broaden their ideas and ideals.

To make an extended tale brief, the C. P. L. A. is interested in moving ahead. It cares not a snap of its fingers for union positions or union control. What it does care for, mightily, is union foresight, militancy and backbone.

"ORGANIZE THE MACHINES!"

WHEN we think it over, there is little cause for surprise that there is defeatism in the Movement. The craft form of unionism breeds defeatism.

What chance is there for upholsterers to hold permanent organization in a large automobile factory? How can machinists, as a separate, individual craft, get anywhere in the Westinghouse Electric or the General Electric or any other large metal products manufactory? Craftsmanship is largely abolished, as it is, and fluidic machine processes render it practically impossible to follow craft lines.

Our object should be no longer to organize the craftsmen—who are largely non-existent—but to get control of the machines. This is admittedly a large order. It implies industrial unionism. It implies widespread agitation and experimentation in organization methods, until the proper means are discovered of getting a grip inside factories on the entire mass of the workers.

Rather than thinking of this craft or that craft, when we approach a basic industrial plant, we can well think of the entire working population. We can think, beyond that, of the interlocking connections of the concern; and of the halting of production in these interlocking places, if such becomes necessary.

A slogan that might centralize our activities and aid us to point more clearly to our goal would be: "Organize the Machines!" If we visualize our course in terms of

machines, rather than of so many men to be organized, we will go further toward helping the men in the long run. We will also not let machines run away from us to other non-union fields, but will pursue them endlessly with organization at any cost.

JAIL! JAIL! JAIL!

NORTH CAROLINA'S supremest court splutters out an O. K. of the conviction of the Gastonia strike leaders. Alfred Hoffman, Larry Hogan and the Marion men, in the same decree of the All-Highest, are shunted off to jail. It is there that real labor leaders should be today, apparently, in the glorious reign of Herbert Hoover.

Jail and threats of jail greet militant labor everywhere. That more organizers and leaders are not imprisoned is due to the simple fact that militancy is so difficult to find. Small strikes, with small capital involved so far as the concerns go, present the same phenomenon as larger struggles. Witness the four members of the United Hatters of North America who have followed the same long, long trail in New Jersey. Vice Chancellor Buchanan has felt his dignity injured and aggrieved in that he states they have violated one of his leprous injunctions. "Thirty days" is his answer.

Since we who are on the firing line are to be framed-up and sent to jail anyway, if we display any indication of pep or drive, why not have the satisfaction of going voluntarily? We will have the pleasure of telling the courts what we think of their Czaristic policies. We will strike blows for freedom, that will eventually make the High and Mighty on the bench look the puppets of Mammon that they are. Again we repeat: the lesson out of Gastonia, Marion and other places is non-resistant defiance of court decrees.

More than that. The judges who send the workers to jail with so much alacrity, are not the candidates of a Labor party. They are the products of that hoary non-partisan policy, which is fast Hooverizing the A. F. of L. As long as that policy continues to be the predominant idea of American labor politically, those who wish to wage a real fight on the industrial field will find themselves "sent to Siberia" without much ado.

There is lacking, likewise, any spirit of revolt on the part of official Labor against this constant railroading of active organizers. We see no mass demonstrations upon the subject, save on the part of the Communists. We see none of the old American spirit of hot rebellion. The voice of Labor pipes and pleads, and gets hushed instantaneously as it did in the last Congress.

The Pennsylvania Federation of Labor, at least, is planning a series of anti-injunction mass meetings throughout that State. Such is a welcome beginning. We hope that these meetings will breathe the fire of defiance against the courts, and particularly of that nincompoop who sits in Philadelphia weaving out injunctions per order. We refer to the Hon. MacDevitt, Pennsylvania's champion injunction granter.

WILL YOU HELP?

NOW that September is upon us, the C. P. L. A. organization department will give evidence of that activity which has been promised for some time.

Our object, frankly, is agitation in the basic industries.

Where and when that agitation will begin is a matter that will show shortly in the record.

Wherever it may be and whenever in September it may start, there is need for volunteers to cooperate in the big undertaking. We have not yet enough for the many detailed jobs that there will be to do, once we are launched on this course.

YOUNG PEOPLE, our appeal is especially to you. If circumstances so work out that you cannot join in on the campaign at hand, we want your aid in other channels. You are needed in industry, not to go out as unattached workers but to cooperate with us while you are in industry.

There are young men and women now in Steel, Textiles, Aircraft and other industries—working hard at the daily job, associating with their fellow-workers, getting glimpses of conditions and the possibilities of organization. That little army should be increased in numbers.

But for those who wish to jump into the job of aiding in agitation on a volunteer basis, there is plenty of work ahead. This S. O. S. is for just that sort of cooperation. Our question is: "Will You Help?"

ARTHUR GLEASON SCHOLARSHIPS

A FEW years ago LABOR AGE suggested the Arthur Gleason scholarships at Brookwood. District 2 of the United Mine Workers, mindful of Gleason's fine work for the coal-diggers' cause, graciously took up the suggestion and made it live. For several years miners went to Brookwood as recipients of the Arthur Gleason scholarships.

It is unfortunate that the conditions in District 2 led to the ending of these scholarships. Gleason did more than his bit in the pioneering work of workers education in this country. He was ever sympathetic and helpful to such new ventures and idealistic pragmatism as were represented by LABOR AGE. He inspired many men, in and out of Labor's ranks, to devote themselves to the building up of a progressive labor movement in America.

Such services should not be forgotten, particularly by those who benefited spiritually by knowing him.

We hope that some other organization or individual will not let the name of Arthur Gleason be passed by, but will allow it to be the source of inspiration to younger folks coming into active participation in Labor's fight.

The Arthur Gleason scholarships should be revived. Perhaps before our next issue we can announce that some individual or some group has made them a permanent feature of Brookwood.

IN THE NEXT ISSUE

A symposium on the A. F. of L.'s achievements and future prospects will be featured in the October number of Labor Age.

Watch for it on the newstands.

If you are a subscriber and your subscription has expired, renew at once. Follow the Progressive fight with us.

Flashes from the Labor World

NORTH CAROLINA again takes the lime-light as a State made safe for plutes with the decision of its Supreme Court upholding the original verdict sending indiscriminately A. F. of L. and Communist organizers and strikers, implicated in the Marion and Gastonia conflicts of last year, to from a month to twenty years on the glorious rock piles of this benevolent State. Beal, Miller, Carter and Harrison were sentenced for 17-29 years, McGinnis and McLaughlin for 12-15 years and Hendricks for 5-7 years. These are all Communists.

Hoffman, Logan, Lewis and Wes Fowler, active in Marion on behalf of the United Textile Workers, got from one month for Hoffman to six months for the others in jail.

None of the mobsters, gangsters and henchmen of the employers, who maimed, wounded, terrorized and killed in both places ever got so much as a cross word said to them. They were all freed of blame after some of them were subjected to the inconvenience of farcical trials. On the other hand, the only major casualty among the tools of the bossmen was Chief Aderholt of Gastonia who was fatally wounded when he attacked the strikers' colony. For this death, caused by an unidentified person, the State is taking more than 120 years from the lives of the 11 defendants.

Three of the defendants, Beal, Miller and Hendricks are known to have gone to Germany on forged passports and are stated to have reached Moscow since then. These defendants have acted on their own initiative, according to statements made by the Civil Liberties Union and the International Labor Defense.

* * *

Meanwhile, regardless of the possibility of more twenty year jail sentences, 500 textile operatives of the American Mills, Inc., at Bessemer City, N. C., left their jobs against an announced wage-slash of from 5 to 20 per cent. In a fury of excitement following a speech in which Solicitor Carpenter of Gaston County advocated violence against reds, a crowd of business men and middle class elements tied, beat, threatened and drove out of town two organizers from the National Textile Workers Union. A preacher and a policeman helped to incite the crowd and assisted the mob. Walter Wilson, representative of the Civil Liberties Union, urging the police to refrain from and prevent violence, was roughly handled and likewise driven from town. By such terroristic methods

and by promises of financial aid, middle class elements have cut strikers off from outside assistance. Organizers from the American Federation of Labor visited the scene and gave the situation up as hopeless.

The strike was spontaneous, following a hurried mass meeting Sunday night. It affected two plants of the company. The wage cut was the third since last Christmas, and has aroused protest even among other manufacturers in Gaston County. Strikers calculate that it would result in some earning \$6 for sixty hours.

Strike demands include a weekly average of about \$15; a 55-hour week; elimination of scrip, which when discounted, brings in cash only 75 per cent of its face value and abolition of the stretchout. A group of weavers further demands wage increases up to 50 per cent and a reduction of house rent of about half. There is widespread sentiment for the removal of the superintendent, George R. Spencer, who, strikers believe, was responsible for the cut.

* * *

The situation in the miners' union was made more complex when an injunction was issued to a small group of Lewis' adherents in Illinois preventing the Illinois faction from carrying on any kind of activity under the name of the United Mine Workers of America. Adding to the mixup William Green, President of the American Federation of Labor sent a letter to the Illinois Federation of Labor instructing that body to refuse to seat any delegates at its September convention in Springfield from miners' locals affiliated with the Springfield International of the Miners' Union.

* * *

Three years after the electrocution of Sacco and Vanzetti by the State of Massachusetts, interest in their case is keen throughout the world, according to the Sacco-Vanzetti National League. Money support from American liberals for efforts to trace further witnesses and vindicate the two men continues as strong as ever.

August 22, 1930, the third anniversary of their execution, saw a score of meetings in their memory all over the country.

The Sacco and Vanzetti League is now in possession of a house just behind the Massachusetts State House on Beacon Hill which it intends to make into a Sacco-Vanzetti memorial house as soon

as sufficient funds are available to remodel it into a meeting hall.

* * *

The cards are stacked against Tom Mooney and Warren K. Billings at the hearings before the California Supreme Court. The attitude of the judges, especially Justices Preston and Richards, is frankly hostile.

There seems hardly a hope of any pardon for the two framed labor men. The case has been thrown wide open and witnesses have been interviewed who have very little direct evidence to offer. Billings' political views have been gone into with a fine toothcomb and it appears that as in the Gastonia situation, if the Judges can hang anything red on either Mooney or Billings, that will be made the excuse for a refusal of a pardon. From present indications there seems to be a determined effort on the part of the Supreme Court of California to let the two men rot in jail regardless of any evidence of their innocence.

* * *

Capitalizing mother love to create sentiment for militarism, twisted as such a possibility seems to be, nevertheless this appears to be the method employed by the War Department according to interviews with gold star mothers returning from their visits to their sons' graves appearing in the United States press. Whiskey and sex appeal, loving care and vines from the trenches "dug at the very spot where son was killed"—are the tools that turn the trick.

When the war was over, states the KANSAS CITY TIMES in one such an interview, Mrs. Barabara Mysembourg and her husband, now dead, discussed whether to bring home the body of their son, Harry, killed on the Somme. They decided not. There had always remained a question in the mother's mind as to that decision.

"I am satisfied now," she said. "I would make the same decision again. The cemeteries are more beautiful than you can imagine. It is perfect and I know that as long as our government stands it will be cared for better than the cemeteries at home."

"In addition to picking out my son's grave for me, they showed me right where he was killed. We walked through the trenches and saw exactly what the boys went through. I brought back a vine from one of the trenches and I think it is going to live.

"The government watched over us like

we were babies. And those government nurses! The weather was cold. My nurse saw I was chilled. She took a bottle from her pocket—yes, she did—and right there in front of everybody she poured me out a drink—a drink of whiskey. All of them carried it. It certainly warmed me up.

"I'm contented, now, and I owe it all to the wonderful consideration of the government. It wasn't so much the trip, which was fine, as it was the kindness we were shown.

"Why, we even had dances! See (she displayed a photograph), this good looking young captain asked me for a dance!" * * *

Senator George W. Norris' smashing victory for renomination over his machine Republican opponent came in spite of every possible trick by the power trust and other reactionary foes who had determined to silence him in the national legislative councils. The effort of the power trust to run an obscure grocery clerk by the same name against Norris was on the point of success and only at the last minute did the Nebraska Supreme Court kill the power combine's plot.

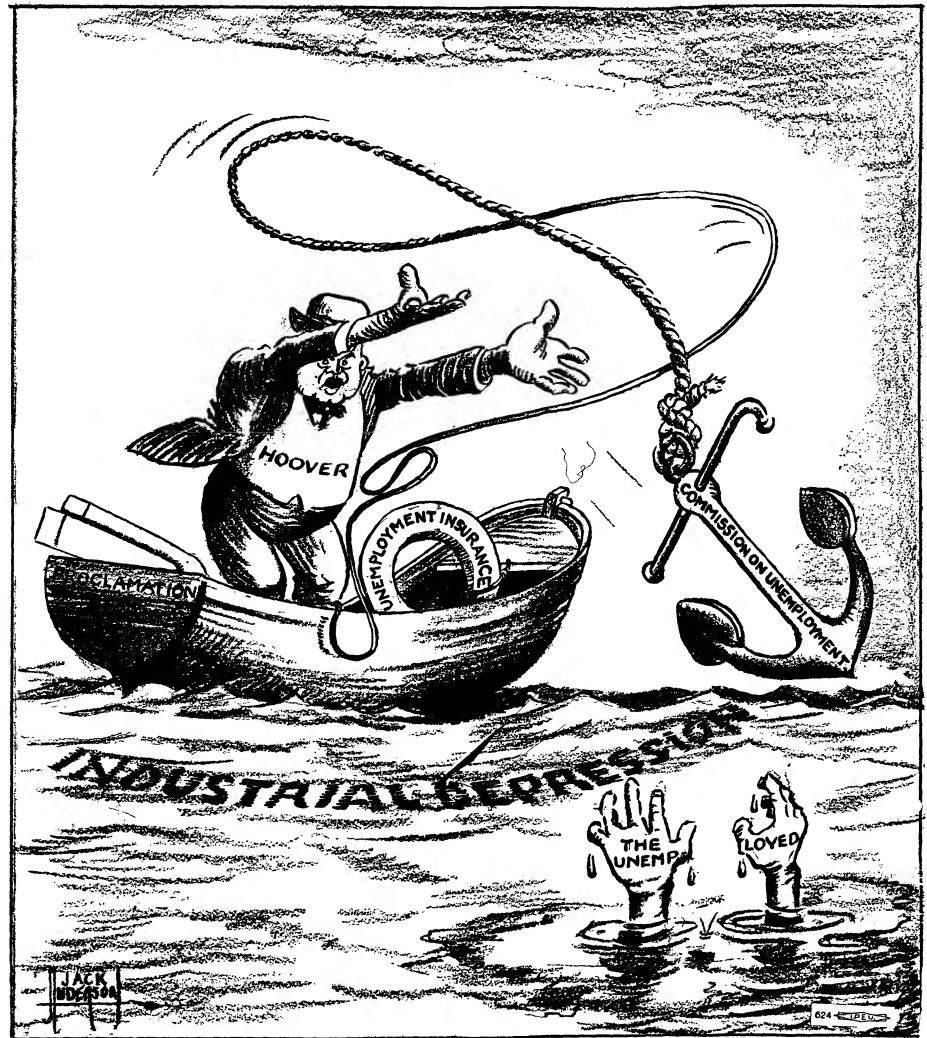
Nothing daunted, the reactionaries then enlisted a hireling named Will M. Maupin to line up union labor against Norris. Though President William Green had warmly indorsed Norris and though Secretary Frank Morrison had done likewise, Maupin wrote to all available members of the printing crafts and to publishers of union-label papers charging that Norris was guilty of the enormous offense of using a Washington, D. C., union label on some of his campaign printing. Another charge by Maupin was that Norris was indorsed by seven labor unions (like the railroad Brotherhoods) that were not affiliated with the A. F. of L.

Publishers friendly to Norris pointed out in their columns that not only Green and Morrison but President Howard of the International Typographical Union and the Nebraska Federation President had indorsed the progressive leader. The voters did the rest.

The fight for the safe return of Norris to the Senate is not yet over, however. The power interests and the reactionary Republican leaders may throw their strength to the Democratic nominee in the approaching election. The chances of Norris' defeat are considered quite slim. * * *

What absence of private profit means to workers in an industry that is co-operatively run, even in this period of wage-slashing and general deep misery, is demonstrated by the wage workers of the Columbia Conserve Co. at Indiana-

"THERE YOU ARE"



Drawn for Labor Age by Jack Anderson

polis, Ind., canners of soups and other food products. Its employees' council which assumed charge of the plant on August 1, voted for a raise of 10 cents an hour. This action brings the minimum wage up to 40 cents an hour, and effects both men and women who are single and without dependents. Married women workers whose husbands are gainfully employed, remain on the old rate of 30 cents an hour. The raise effects only about 5 per cent of the employees, as the others are paid on a salary basis, which is higher.

Fifty-hours a week is assured employees. Thus when the plant operates on a 45-hour week, which is true about 10 months of the year, the workers receive 10 hours pay for nine hours work per day for five days of the week.

Besides a high wage and salary scale as compared to other canning factories, the Columbia employees receive wage differentials for special needs. For instance, a married man whose wife is dependent on him receives 10 cents an hour over the regular scale. Two cents

an hour is allowed for each child under 16 years of age, up to three children. Salaries and wages are based on the needs of the individual to maintain a decent standard of living.

The workers in the plant own 51 per cent of the company stock, which gives them control of the board of directors. They meet once a week in council and discuss the problems of running the plant. Hiring, firing, wages and working conditions are controlled by majority vote of the council. Every employee is entitled to a voice in this body.

The Columbia Conserve Company should be an object lesson to the capitalists who do not believe that workers can run industry efficiently.

After eleven years of confinement, Loren Roberts, one of the eight I. W. W. members jailed for defending their hall in Centralia, Washington, against an attacking mob on Armistice Day, 1919, has been freed by the parole board. James McInerney, another one of the

(Continued on page 26)

Prepare Your Programs

A Call to C. P. L. A.'ers to Plan Winter Activities

WHILE vacation time causes hearts to flurry among the more fortunate of workers, the vast majority stay at home happy to have a chance to earn a few dollars when their bosses let them. In other words, they stay at home and take their airing in the parks. That means that summer or no summer, there is plenty of opportunity for agitation and organization, if any one is so disposed.

Taking advantage of this situation the Conference for Progressive Labor Action has been following the trail of the more or less busy workers and has brought to them the message of unionism and unemployment insurance as they sat resting at lunch hour in front of the mill gates or as they were hurrying towards their homes after the whistle blew in the evening. A number of incursions have been made during this passing month upon the peace of mind of both workers and bosses, and as speakers at the street corners advanced the need for security for workers, bosses here and there came snooping around to find out what it was all about.

We are appealing to our friends in various centers who are organized into C. P. L. A. Branches to get active on the unemployment insurance drive. We have special leaflets on the subject that cover the problem in a most thorough manner. Now is the time to prepare for the oncoming fall activity. Order a supply of these leaflets at 50 cents a hundred at once. They are the real persuaders. Similarly, it is judicious to start planning for the complete activities for the coming fall and winter. If groups have their schedules all arranged well in advance it will be much simpler for the national office to supply them with speakers, literature and with any other assistance possible. So from now on we shall expect letters to come pouring into this office, for speakers, for literature, for special advice, etc.

Also, this is the time when boosting the circulation of LABOR AGE should become the most popular indoor and outdoor sport. In the months ahead the editors of LABOR AGE are planning a series of articles that will be more absorbing than any yet printed. There is the forthcoming A. F. of L. convention which will be considered from

every angle in your journal. There is Matt Woll. Ah, he's a man, and watch what a good research fellow can say about him. Illustrated and everything! Read LABOR AGE. There are the cartoons, and the flashes and the editorials and all the other features that go to make LABOR AGE the outstanding free and untrammelled publication on the labor question in the United States. So, boost, readers, boost. The more readers we shall get the better the publication will become.

One very practical way in which to advance the sales of LABOR AGE is to place them on the newsstands. In New York City thousands of copies are distributed in every section of the metropolis where they are displayed on stands for all to see. Our circulation has increased very nicely, even during the summer months.

If you have a few hours of spare time during the month you can do the same thing for LABOR AGE in your town. Write for more specific information.

In other centers things are continuing to happen to the dismay of our enemies and to the joy of our friends. Sometimes we get a setback but never a knockout blow. We may be stumped here and hindered there. Just like the situation with local 38, I. L. G. W. U. We announced in two previous issues that Louis Budenz of our staff would start his organization work by helping the garment workers in their fight to organize the Fifth Ave., tailor dress shops. The officers of Local 38 came to us with this request. It was their overture that we loan Budenz to them, not ours. Yet when this became known in certain quarters the fear of the credit which the C. P. L. A. would receive out of such an activity, although the union had the opportunity of organizing a very bad spot in its industry, caused the calling off of the whole arrangement. We are sorry for the girls in the dress shops who will thus have to continue to slave without organization. But as far as we are concerned, Louis Budenz will now be free to tackle a much bigger and more important task. What that task is we are not yet ready to make public. But next month's issue will tell the why and the wherefore of it.

C. P. L. A.ers will be just too happy to know that William A. Daech, a

good coal miner and as equally a good labor organizer, also an excellent C. P. L. A.er, who ran as international organizer for the Howat faction of the United Mine Workers of America, received the highest number of votes cast for any of the ten successful candidates in that election. He received 3,485 votes while the candidate closest to him received 2,824 votes. That's confidence!

From New Bedford comes a story that is exceedingly interesting.

Graphically it presents how crazy is our national pattern and how devious is the lure that must be met by those who desire to be consistent in their political and labor affiliations. Donald Thompson, one of the good boys who was effective during the last textile strike, tells the story in his own way.

"To prevent the loss of Massachusetts, Republicans under the leadership of former Senator William M. Butler, have made labor the principle issue of the campaign. Although Butler's financial interests run through the leading industries of New England, and are found even in the South, New Bedford is his home town and his industrial stronghold. And the New Bedford Labor Party has furnished him with an issue.

"One of the earliest measures which New Bedford's six Labor councilmen succeeded in enacting into legislation, was a resolution calling upon the city administration to work for a national 48-hour law for industry. Not content with this, the Labor party sent a delegation to Boston to call upon the officials of the State Department of Labor and Industry to co-operate in bringing this issue before the nation. But for the refusal of the (Republican) State Auditor's Department to sanction the expenditures, the city would have appropriated several thousand dollars to be used in propaganda in behalf of the proposed legislation.

"Several of Butler's camp followers who were union members suggested that he take up the fight for the 48-hour amendment. At first this was done by a local campaign of whispering that Butler favored the amendment. This proving unexpectedly successful, Butler suddenly announced to the newspapers of the state that a 48-hour amendment was necessary if New England was successfully to compete with the South.

"Butler's campaign slogan of 'Better Business with Butler' has sunk into the background and the 48-hour cry has become the leading issue of the campaign. And with the emergence of this issue Butler, backed by unlimited financial resources, has emerged the leading candidate in the campaign. Everything political in Massachusetts is now pro-Butler or anti-Butler, with the anti's slightly in the lead.

"Butler, finding labor a successful issue has not stopped there. His precinct workers are now making all manner of rash labor promises in his behalf. He is alleged to favor government unemployment relief, abolition of injunctions in labor disputes, and a number of other equally startling innovations. He, himself, has been equally on the alert in regard to labor, although he makes few promises. He is righteously indignant at the labor policies of Southern manufacturers, although the Butler-Prentice Co. advertised itself in the Boston "Transcript" last year as sole selling agent for certain southern mills.

"Bankers and manufacturers, including the secretary of the New Bedford Manufacturers' Association and the president of the American Woolen Co. have declared themselves in favor of Butler's 48-hour policy. Money is spent without limit, and activity such as has not been seen in Massachusetts politics for years is everywhere apparent. The writer has twice been offered an indefinite financial reward for "getting on the Butler bandwagon," and many active textile unionists report the same experience.

"In view of such a campaign, it was almost inevitable that some members of the New Bedford Labor Party should have been reached. The first outward symptom was the formation of a "Workers' Republican Club" with several of the full time union officials as officers. Next; Leo Carney, floor leader of the Labor Party in the City Council, announced his candidacy for the state legislature on the Republican ticket. At the request of the Party, he resigned his membership.

"With him went John Fox, assistant secretary of the party, and two or three active labor officials. Another Labor member of the Council is reported to have endorsed a Republican aspirant for the legislature, although the matter has not yet been officially brought before the party membership for action.

"The disordered state resulting from the Republican inroads, together with subsequent treachery among the ranks remaining, made it impossible to get signatures enough to contest more than two of New Bedford's seven seats in the legislature. One of these two,

Councilman John Wright, seems almost certain of election. Wright is a member of the State Executive Board of the Socialist Party and a minor official of a U. T. W. local.

"The strength of the right wing of the party, which had been in control of the executive board, was shattered with the Republican inroads. Although officially the party still has the united backing of the local unions, it has ceased to represent New Bedford labor as a whole. But this very fact is in one way a source of strength to the party. The party is bound by the course of events to adopt a more clear cut and more radical policy. It can now openly fight right wing unionists to a degree quite impossible while they remained within its ranks. And although the party has lost an unusual opportunity to wage a legislative and Congressional fight with a fair chance of success, there seems to be no longer a reason why it may not enter the municipal campaign in December with the probability of electing a majority in the Common Council, and possibly a mayor and some aldermen.

"The local U. T. W. organizers are engaged in a continuous house-to-house campaign for members, and it is quite possible that New Bedford textile unions may emerge from the depression with a slightly increased membership. But the great influence which unionism exercised over the lives of the workers two years ago has largely disappeared. In-

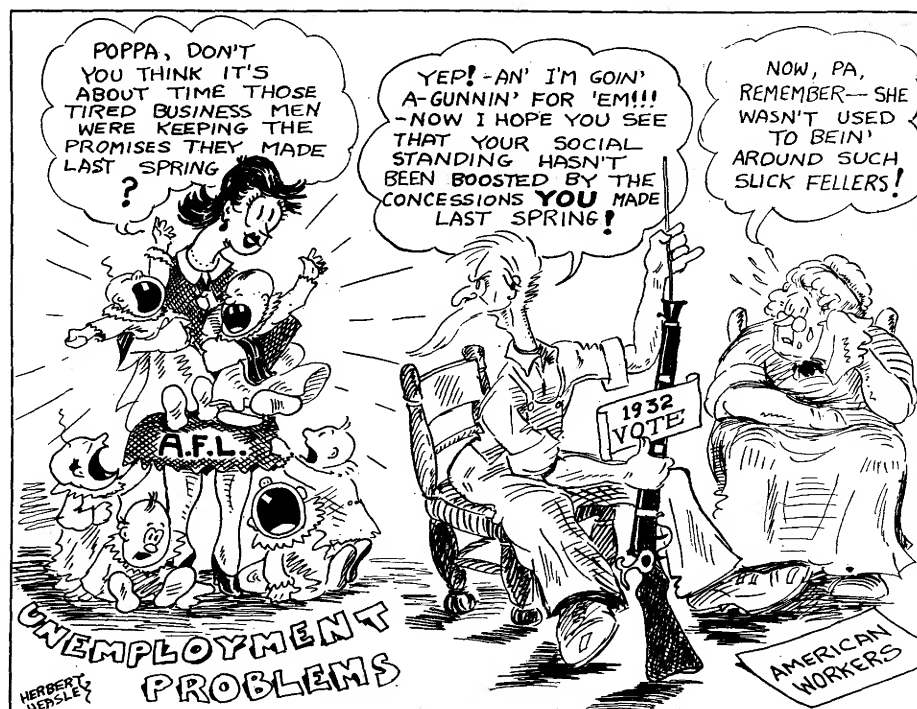
deed the influence of the unions today is probably much less than before the 1928 strike, although the membership has greatly increased.

"Unionism has almost completely lost its hold upon the Polish section of the workers; among the Portuguese it is limited to the group at the head of the Ring-twisters' local. Dissatisfaction is rampant among both English and French groups. The swing is toward the right and away from unionism rather than toward the left.

"The prestige of the U. T. W. especially has suffered, due to the lack of any dramatic activity. New Bedford textile unions represent a tradition of continuous existence of over 75 years. The tie that binds them to the U. T. W. is slender. There is a growing right wing resentment against continued affiliation on two grounds: 1. 'The per-capita tax is a needless expense,' while, 'the U. T. W. has nothing to show for the money it has received'; and 2. 'the U. T. W. policy of fighting strikes out to a finish (Marion, please note) is disastrous. It puts the mills into bankruptcy and the workers are worse off.'

"In spite of the fact that the local leaders are now largely won over to the U. T. W. it is in danger of losing New Bedford through pressure of the rank and file, unless it places some out-of-town organizer in the field or uses some more drastic method of making its influence felt."

THEY DONE HER WRONG



Drawn for Labor Age by Herbert Hearsley

The A. F. of L. patiently awaits the fulfillment of the promises made by Big Business at Hoover's request.

C. P. L. A. Views on Current Issues

NUMEROUS public statements on many questions of immediate importance were issued by the Conference for Progressive Labor Action during the past month. Space forbids the publication of all but a few, the rest being here merely recorded:

Oppose Invitation to Hoover

President Hoover who fought to the last ditch to have yellow-dog contract Judge Parker placed on the Supreme Court bench is handsomely rewarded for his friendliness to labor by being invited to speak at the American Federation of Labor Convention in Boston in October.

Of course in extending this invitation to Mr. Hoover, President Green of the A. F. of L. does not cite the Parker incident as the reason for the honor conferred upon the President by the Labor Movement. He is honored because of the "great service" he rendered by means of the White House Conference on November 21 in stabilizing wages and working standards, in face of the present depression. The effect of this conference, we are told, is becoming "more and more apparent."

We are utterly unable to understand such logic. It is true that in certain trades the wage-level has nominally at least, been maintained, though it is exceedingly doubtful whether Mr. Hoover's conference had much to do with this result. Even in these trades, however, unemployment is rampant and the total wages received by the workers attached to them have been greatly reduced.

On the other hand, all over the country wages are being directly or indirectly slashed. A recent report of the U. S. Department of Labor cites 74 cases of wage reductions. The Consolidation Coal Co., the biggest coal-producing unit in the country, connected with the Rockefeller interests, has instituted a ten per cent wage cut. Several months ago the Dan River Mills in Virginia, one of the largest cotton textile firms, put a ten per cent cut into effect. "Fifty hosiery mills in the U. S.", according to a recent statement of the Labor Bureau, Inc. "have abolished extra rates for continuous operation services." More recently still 16,000 organized hosiery workers were compelled to sign a national agreement providing for a vicious wage-cut of 20 per cent. The unions in the steel industry have taken a cut. The same is true for copper miners in Ari-

zona, the employees of the National Cash Register Co. etc. Instances could be multiplied a thousand-fold.

Mr. Hoover failed to call any conference a year ago when it might have helped, but instead permitted his administration to keep up the silly ballyhoo of Republican prosperity and this encouraged the orgy of speculation on the Stock Exchange. To place all the blame for the present depression on him or his party is absurd, but for Labor to shower honors upon the man who did nothing when action might have meant less unemployment, is degrading. It will be resented by the millions of toilers among whom stalk the spectres of insecurity, poverty and distress.

The A. F. of L. itself becomes a party to this policy of wage cutting when it follows the supine course which it pursued in making the Hoover-Green pact in which workers were advised not to ask for wage increases. Now it again commends "labor organizations and the representatives of labor" who prevented "interruptions and strikes." The workers are being robbed because the Labor Movement fails to give any inspiring and militant leadership, but instead becomes the mouthpiece of big business.

This attitude is backed by the **TOLEDO UNION LEADER**. In almost a full length editorial in its issue of August 15, it suggests that Hoover is in one class with "John E. Edgerton, president of the National Association of Manufacturers or the notorious Senator Grundy; yes, and that pink tea professor, Senator Fess of Ohio. No attention was given President Green in his protest against the appointment of Judge Parker.

"The sooner workers get away from the cheap clap-trap of feeling elated over being patted on the back by people in so-called high places," the editor winds up his remarkably clear analysis of the import of such an invitation, "the better off they will be."

"Remember, honeyed words and high sounding phrases will never buy food and housing for the workers. Why invite such speeches?"

North Carolina Disgraced

The decision of the Supreme Court of North Carolina, upholding the conviction of the Communist and American Federation of Labor strike leaders involved in the Gastonia and Marion conflicts of last year, exposes the most shameful subservience of the Courts to capitalist

wishes. Little hope was held out at the time of the trials of these men that they would receive a fair verdict at the hands of the native jurymen, inflamed as their minds were through the introduction of irrelevant matter dealing with hearsay and the strikers' political and religious views that had nothing to do with the situation. The Judge, M. V. Barnhill, in the Gastonia case against the Communists showed decided animus against the defendants in permitting such evidence to enter. But there was some justification for the belief that on appeal, the judges of the State Supreme Court, less likely to be prejudiced than 12 ignorant small town residents and country farmers, would be able to differentiate between evidence bearing on the case and matters of hearsay entirely foreign to the charge.

The verdict of the Supreme Court, sustaining in every detail the lower court in permitting cross-examination on the defendant's political and religious beliefs and upholding the outrageous sentences running up to twenty years, show that there can be no justice for the workers engaged in the attempt to better their conditions. The verdict is a plain intimation that the wishes of the employers to maintain open-shop standards, starvation wages, and unbearably long hours will be backed by the judiciary of the State to the limit, regardless of the constitutional rights of the workers. It also shows that the attempts of the American Federation of Labor to organize will be as viciously opposed as will be the attempts of the Communists.

The Conference for Progressive Labor Action looks upon this decision as a strangling interference with the lawful rights of the exploited workers and protests most vigorously against this definite line-up between the Courts of the State of North Carolina and the employers. That the decision of the Supreme Court should come at this moment when textile workers in Bessemer City and other centers in North Carolina are striking against intolerable wage cuts and working conditions is evident proof of the desire on the part of the Court to use its powers to intimidate these workers.

But the Supreme Court is as reckless of the history of the labor conflict as it seems to be of the guarantee of the law. Its decision will in no manner prevent the Southern workers from continuing to fight for their rights until they attain

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In Other Lands

GREAT BRITAIN

Parliament has closed its shop and the members after one of the longest sessions in modern times have gone on their holidays. There is, however, no rest for the cabinet and the prominent members of the Labor Party. The executive must stay on the job and keep its eyes on India and Egypt and other troubled zones. The party leaders must be in the country mending their fences or "nursing" constituencies. They must also be on the jump replying to Maxton and the enfant terribles of the I. L. P. and the Left groups. The seizure of the mace by Beckett revealed a mind more conservative than the stoutest opponents ever guessed among the Right and Government groups. It also told the public that the parliamentary machine was inadequate and out of date for modern legislative work. Bernard Shaw, H. G. Wells and other eminent Laborites have come out for drastic reform of the machine and the entire legislative and executive systems in Britain. The Liberal demand for proportional representation will not down and it continues to plague MacDonald and Co. It belies the latter's pretensions to democracy. The Tories are out for the complete destruction of Labor. They have the advantage this time in that they have succeeded in splitting all other groups with the tariff issue. The latter is the product of the industrial revolution in other countries and its reaction in Britain. A general election in the Fall or Winter is a foregone conclusion with the possible chance of MacDonald being on the defensive. The parliamentary machine must catch up with the economic force it reflects. It must be brought up to date and in line with the industrial rationalization of the country. All of which means that MacDonald is not entirely to blame for the failure to accomplish more than his party did. The Lords did their worst in a reactionary way. The House of Commons lumbered along groaning and creaking like an overloaded stage coach of two centuries ago. Parish pump bills, Scotch and Welsh legislation, that should be dealt with in the county councils held up or delayed important national and international legislation. Discussion and debate thereby became farcical and representative government gave way to cliques and bossism. Britons admit that bad as the U. S. Congress is it is better adapted than Parliament for work and gives the private member a better chance to serve his con-

stituency. No doubt MacDonald and his aides will capitalize that and make it his best defensive weapon when the Government goes to the country.

Economically things are going from bad to worse and no other government, unless it be an out and out revolutionary one, could have done better to mend matters. The unemployed list is now a million more than when Labor took office. The rationalization in the railway, cotton and wool industries has gone the limit with labor losing heavily. Manufacture of all kinds is revolutionized by new methods, with American-like speeding up and intensification of labor the order of the day.

UNEMPLOYMENT



De Notenkraker, Amsterdam

The best bearing tree of the year.

It is revealed that the \$50,000,000 surplus in the Post Office is due largely to starvation wages paid to the postal workers. They are now demanding a division of the surplus to the consternation of Chancellor Snowden, who like the good middle class Liberal that he is, is trying to keep taxes down. MacDonald can point with pride to the week's holiday given the government dockyard employees with full pay—the first time in the history of Britain.

Should the I. L. P. men like Maxton continue their criticism and persist in blaming the government for all the ills Britain is heir to Cramp and other union leaders will demand a pure and simple Labor Party and exclude the Socialists. The tariff panacea for Britain's economic ills may split labor as it has divided all other parties. So far the rift is on top but after the next conference it may

find its way to the rank and file. The workers will then be faced with the fundamental questions of producers and consumers. Hitherto they followed the middle class lead and saw many political questions as consumers. Hence the cry "Don't tax the workers breakfast" which was successful in the past in beating all tariff advocates. It will hardly do in these days of mass production and high prices.

The death of Richardson of the Miners Federation and the passing of other labor men marks the transition from the older group to a new and different type of leader better educated in book lore and lacking the hard experience of the older men. If the new leadership is less sentimental than those it has supplanted it may be to the general good. The Actors have combined their different groups into one big union of British Equity, and the General Workers continue to absorb smaller unions. The General is now the largest in Britain. It is one union that the I. L. P. men can boast they made and sustained.

INDIA

The revolt in India has demonstrated the power of the boycott. With that weapon Britain is being slowly but steadily forced to realize that the old order is doomed. Lancashire and Yorkshire at home are the chief sufferers and victims of the boycott with the Japs and Germans the chief gainers. Besides the boycott there is violence all over the Empire and thousands are put under arrest. The Afridis of the North-West, who were never conquered, have declared war on the British. Calcutta has several times made peace with them even promising to pay tribute to the hill men. The Imperial government thought it could break its treaty or promise to pay the Afridis and during the World War it tore the treaty up. The Afridis retreat when they find it necessary, and go into Afghanistan and prepare for the worst. Now that Britain is in trouble the Afridis have returned from Afghanistan and are making life miserable for the civil and military officials of Peshawar and the frontier districts. The British news agencies try to create the impression that the Afridis are Afghans but they are not. The tribesmen have burned millions of dollars worth of property and government stores. Ammunition dumps are being set fire to or blown up. Railroad equipment is lifted wholesale while en-

(Continued on page 29)



"Say It With Books"



Muscle Men in American Life

Only Saps Work. A Ballyhoo for Racketeering, by Courtenay Terrett, Vanguard Press, \$2.00.

BEHOLD another American institution, getting better day by day, racketeering!

In a foreword Morris Ernst declares that racketeering is only in its babyhood. Considering that its present annual toll is conservatively estimated at a billion dollars and that other guesses bring the amount up as high as three billion dollars, a great future seems to be in store for this "basic" industry.

Racketeering is described by the author as the practice and execution of organized schemes for making money illegitimately. But we doubt if this will do. It is a description which covers a multitude of sins, and would include the souvenir-program racket, phony tipster sheets and fake bankruptcies in addition to the food racket, the labor racket and the devil only knows what else. Swindling is an old institution, while modern racketeering combines certain phases of swindling with brazen, strong arm methods.

Much space is devoted to the labor racket, and for this reason the book has a particular value for progressive laborites. Mr. Terrett's information was secured in the main as a reporter for New York newspapers, hence, most of the material deals with New York racketeering and little concerns Chicago, more notorious in this respect.

The activities of F. Paul A. Vacarelli, erstwhile labor leader, seem to have lent themselves particularly to the author's penetrating research, for we are presented in a chapter which might have been headed "From Gangsterism to Rotarian Respectability" with a sort of case history of the man who once called himself Paul Kelly. Under that name as chief of the Five Pointers, an East Side gang, he "was carrying on the combined occupations of gunman, saloon keeper, labor racketeer and tribute-taker from gambling and bawdy houses." A few years later, however, as vice-president of the International Longshoremen's

Union and the Loyal Labor Legion, Mr. Vacarelli received the recognition due him. For his patriotic services in "spurning the offers of German spies," who wanted the longshoremen to strike in our own anti-bellum days when American manufacturers were supplying the Allies with munitions, Paul was given a testimonial dinner. Among those present were some outstanding luminaries of Tammany Hall—judges (one of them has since been removed from the bench) a congressman, state senators, assistant district attorneys and other officials—all paying tribute to this gallant American. And quite recently at a Loyal Labor Legion picnic, if we are not mistaken, Edward F. McGrady, A. F. of L. organizer, pinned a medal on his manly chest for this same patriotic deed. Verily, virtue finds its reward!

Now there are some people who don't like to admit that a certain amount of labor racketeering goes on. At a recent gathering of Socialists the question of racketeering and gangsterism came up, and immediately the atmosphere became tense. A trade unionist present whose own integrity is beyond reproach, nevertheless, denied that gangsterism existed in any labor organization—and if it did he did not want to know anything about it! But Courtenay Terrett mentions unions in New York City controlled or owned outright by racketeers, and while he does not give their names there are enough details to show that he knows what he is talking about. In addition, Judge Jacob Panken has openly charged that "mercenaries" head the union of "Schochtim" (who kill fowl according to ritual for Jewish consumption) as well as the Chicken Drivers' Union.

Speaking of one of the six racketeer-controlled unions, the author tells how "a gangster with rather vague but indubitable political connections muscled into the union several years ago. He lasted for three or four years, holding office and enforcing the collection of tribute from the workers and graft from the contractors through a small group of somewhat inferior gorillas. Some of the

old-timers who had picked up easy money in considerable gobs in the old days were unhappy over his domination. They took counsel on ways of tossing him out, and were advised that the best method would be to get an even tougher gangster to do the job. This was done. The man who was hired to do the job was the late Frank Yale. He executed the commission quickly and neatly—and took the union over for his own." Yale is dead but other gunmen rule the union at present.

Numerous instances of graft, corruption and high handedness by labor officials are presented—all making a sickening picture. Taking \$3 and \$4 a day from non-union workmen and furnishing them with working cards is an old story but a profitable racket. On the other hand, the employers and their nefarious practices are not overlooked.

"There are two written statements," we are told, "in a vault near Union Square which tell, from totally opposite viewpoints, the same story of a group of gangsters being paid \$50,000—and not by check—to settle a strike by threatening the strike leaders, beating workmen and committing sabotage amounting to thousands of dollars which could be, and was, conveniently blamed on the strikers."

Then, there is the account of the brutal blackjacking of I. R. T. strikers in 1926 by police industrial and strong arm squads as they were leaving a meeting hall. The inference as to who paid for this dirty job is quite clear.

The beginnings of the modern racketeering industry is traced back to the early days of Tammany Hall. It was that organization which found it advantageous to use gangsters on election day to perpetuate its control of New York City. In 1855 there were in that city as many as 30,000 full time gangsters. They could be hired quite reasonably in those days, and Tammany politicians waxed richer and richer on their graft dividends.

Tammany Hall still governs New York as do corrupt political machines in other large cities. Side by side flourish

the twin evils of racketeering and gangsterism. To wipe them out the political map must be changed. Here is another reason for activity on behalf of a genuine labor party. Not a bad slogan would be "A labor party would abolish racketeering."

It is good to see some stir about this question, to have it discussed as in this book and at the recent League for Industrial Democracy Conference. Perhaps by bringing this monster into the open something will be done about it—at least, we hope so.

LEONARD BRIGHT.

A WORLD MADE ONE?

A World Community. By John H. Randall, Stokes, \$2.50.

LINDBERGH has just declared to a world radio audience that aviation does not fit into the old political frontiers of the petty little sovereign states. Wells in Britain, Delaisi in France and others have pointed out for many years that independence of nations is a myth obscuring the reality of the economic interlocking of the world. Owen Young has declared that no nation can live its life to itself and that no nation can maintain a high standard of life for long if other groups are at the poverty line. The U. S. A. now has \$14-15 billions of foreign investments and the total increases by a billion yearly. The way in which Big Business recently gave the quietus to the anti-Soviet trade agitation also indicated the urgent need felt by U. S. capitalists for foreign markets. So the "entangling alliances" denounced by Washington in the 18th century grow apace in the 20th. John H. Randall, in "A World Community," declares:

"The interests of nations are no longer separate and isolated but all bound together inextricably by a thousand and one new economic ties and relationships that had no existence whatever a century ago. No nation, not even the strongest, is in a position to break with the others without depriving itself of the sources of its indispensable supplies and of its necessary customers, and consequently, without bringing ruin upon itself."

The whole book describes interestingly the forces making for world unity and obstacles encountered and every teacher of geography, history or civics would find it suggestive. One big gap is the failure to deal with the workers' international organizations. If wars are caused by the hunt for markets and the need for spheres of investment, what other group than the workers has the economic incentive to demand a higher standard of life so that the "surplus goods" can be consumed at home and

to demand the cessation of profits? Then too it is too easy an assumption to think that only nationalist wars may occur. In his outline "Religion for a World Community," Mr. Randall ignores the new feelings of solidarity and class consciousness which slowly but surely are growing amongst the exploited workers and which may alter the alignment of the forces in any future conflict. A super-national capitalism evolving out of the huge world trusts might bring the peace of the graveyard for the workers movement.

MARK STARR.

CREATIVE EDUCATION

The New Education in Austria, by Robert Dottrens : John Day. & Co. \$3.

VIENNA may be the Pedagogical Mecca for those who want to see creative education functioning within the public schools on a large scale, but one would hardly be inspired to think so by reading Dr. Robert Dottren's book "The New Education in Austria." It lacks the style, organization, sweeping emotionalism, and pedagogic balance which characterizes Prof. Pinkevitch's book on "The New Education in the Soviet Republic."

In this volume we learn how Austria, politically dismembered and economically ruined by the Great War, seeks to lead the world in educational reconstruction. This reconstruction is based upon the following principles: pupil activity, constructive use of environment, unit instruction as advanced by Decrely, and a curriculum and time schedule so elastic that children, interested in a problem and held spellbound by it, do not drop it just because a bell rings, as in our mechanized schools devoted to educational mass production.

In Austria, teachers and parents, through voluntary organization, unite to study the problems presented by the new education. Their first task is to observe the child and make him happy through creative achievement. Hence, the schools are activity schools, where the children are creators and seekers. In the change from the new to the old, many compromises and many struggles took place between the old disciples and the new schools. One can only regret that Prof. Paul Dengler, who edited the volume, had not written it. Had he done so he would have imparted to it his fine grasp of creative education, his understanding and clearness of presentation.

ABRAHAM LEFKOWITZ.

LABOR FLASHES

(Continued from page 20)

eight, died last week in jail. Whether action will be taken for the early release of the remaining six class-war prisoners is unknown at the present time.

* * *

By a vote of 737 to 127, delegates to the tridistrict convention of union miners in the anthracite field have ratified the new 5½-years agreement recently negotiated by President John L. Lewis of the United Mine Workers with the coal operators. Of the opposing votes 98 were cast by District 1 delegates.

Secretary Thomas L. Kennedy, reporting for the scale committee, declared that throughout the negotiations the operators had insisted at every turn for lower wages. That the union had been able to preserve the present scale was a notable victory, he said. The clause around which most controversy centered calls for "an improved car of coal," many of the miners taking this to mean an actual reduction in wages.

The contract also provides payment by check instead of cash where practicable, elimination of illegal strikes and shutdowns, abandoning of strike power by the general grievance committees, the checkoff and a permanent committee of 12, consisting of six miners and six operators, to consider the welfare of the industry.

* * *

In full retreat Assistant Secretary of the Treasury Lowman has lifted his embargo on Soviet pulpwood, thus ending in a general fiasco the attempts of Matthew Woll and Ralph Easley, with the aid of the Fish Committee investigating Communists, to place a general embargo against Russian imports.

President George W. Sisson, of the Raquette River Paper Co., pleaded for lifting of the pulpwood embargo, stating that "not one hour of American labor would be displaced by Russian pulpwood. There is no such thing as an adequate supply in this country."

President Hoover as well as President Green previously had announced their disagreement with the Woll and company heresy hunters by picking out Russia as a special victim to be penalized. Green, in his statement repudiating Woll's fire eating proclamations, maintained that only the Executive Council and himself can speak for the American Federation, thus leaving Woll, who had issued his denunciations in the name of Labor, a pretty small hole to crawl into. Woll hasn't been heard from since Hoover and Green threw a few bricks at his anti-Soviet fulminations.

(Prepared from Federated Press News Reports)

WHAT OUR READERS THINK

LABOR AGE assumes no responsibility for any opinions expressed in this section. They are the personal views of the contributors.

WHO IS AN INTELLECTUAL?

Dear Editor:-

Messrs. Muste and Epstein contend that the Labor Movement is in need of more intellectuals to guide and direct its policies, etc. The writers did not define the word intellectual, and, since this has different implications, it should be done before this question is given further consideration.

By the word intellectual we usually mean those with a higher education, such as lawyers, doctors, teachers, writers, engineers and others.

If we are to regard only those named as intellectuals and not to include those who picked up their education at random, we will have to exclude Eugene V. Debs, Bill Haywood, Sacco and Vanzetti and others from that category, for none of these I think, had a college education. Assuming that all this is true, we should ask ourselves if they would have accomplished more for the Labor and Radical Movement had they been intellectuals. We should also try to find what enabled them with only an elementary education to achieve as much as they did.

It will be agreed that Debs and Haywood have become national and international figures because of their enthusiasm, devotion, sincerity and courage to stand up against obstacles that are always in the way of the pioneer, especially when fighting for an unpopular cause, as was the case then and to some extent now.

Now what sort of leaders are needed in the Labor Movement—the full-fledged intellectual or such men as Debs who are excluded from this category? If we should choose the former will that assure us the abolition of many trade union evils, such as corruption and graft? We need men of higher learning in the Labor Movement but not the kind we have at present. The intellectuals we have do more harm than good, as I have pointed out elsewhere.

The present mercenary intellectuals in labor unions who serve as editors of union publications which express the sentiments of the officials rather than the rank and file, and others such as directors of research bureaus and so-called impartial chairmen, are instrumental in maintaining corrupt and selfish officials in power.

These speak before various public or-

ganizations and write for publications about labor leaders and their deeds, picturing them as angels and gods, whereas in reality they are just the opposite, who maintain their jobs not by virtue of their achievements but by the use of sluggers, gangsters and gamblers. It is this element and the conditions they maintain that makes labor unions synonymous with racketeer organizations. These men of higher learning in the Labor Movement prostitute themselves for high salaried positions which they can hold only as long as they are praising their bosses, the leaders, within and outside the unions.

If these present intellectuals who do the dirty work for the selfish and corrupt labor leaders are the intellectuals the writers have in mind then I am against such intellectuals in the Labor Movement, for they would only aggravate conditions rather than improve them. On the contrary, I think we ought to get rid of those we have, together with their bosses, the corrupt and selfish labor leaders.

If to be an intellectual implies the necessity of having a college degree, then I am impelled to contend that we need leaders possessing the qualities Debs possessed rather than men with college degrees without such qualities.

L. KIRSHBAUM, New York City.

Editor's note: Much of the force of Mr. Kirshbaum's argument is weakened by the fact that a careful reading of the articles he refers to can leave no impression that by intellectual the authors meant only those possessing college degrees. They specifically mention Ramsay McDonald, Victor Berger, Eugene V. Debs, James Oneal, James H. Maurer and Karl Marx among the intellectuals in the Labor Movement, none of whom had any college degree within our knowledge. Vanzetti certainly was an intellectual but Sacco certainly was not. If a definition of an intellectual is desired it is one who utilizes the eclectic method in understanding life with the ability to express his or her views to influence groups and masses of people. As to corrupt intellectuals, they are as bad as any other corrupt individuals, their degree of badness being in direct ratio to their influence.

PRACTICAL LABOR POLITICS

Dear Editor:-

Things are very bad in the Labor Movement here. The local Labor Council is petrified.

Notwithstanding the present activity in the Mooney case the State Federation

endorsed their FRIEND C. C. Young for re-election as Governor. The city employees are backing Rolph the Mayor of San Francisco for Governor. It certainly makes a disgusting scene to see these factions fight over corrupt and reactionary capitalist candidates.

The labor leaders here are dead against Mooney. The only mention made is when the Rolph gang try to discredit the Young gang as if Rolph ever did anything for Mooney.

I just took a trip through Stockton, Marysville, Sacramento and San Jose. The farmers are starving. The scissor-bill-lizzie tramps are race rioting against the Filipinos and Mexicans. The petty bourgeoisie are going down in front of the chain stores and the American Legion just about runs all the smaller towns.

F. W., San Francisco, Cal.

FOR SOCIALIST INDUSTRIAL UNIONISM

Dear Editor:-

Our attention has been called to a review of "The American Labor Year Book, 1930" by Louis Stanley which appeared in the June issue of "Labor Age." As this article contains references to the Industrial Union League which are incorrect we request the publication of this letter in the next issue of "Labor Age."

We quote from the article. "The Conference for Progressive Labor Action and the Industrial Union League, an offshoot of the Socialist Labor Party, are merely educational and propaganda bodies. They try to organize wage earners and their sympathizers on the basis of general policies."

We are not concerned with the C. P. L. A. insofar as this passage is concerned but we are very much interested in that part of the article dealing with the Industrial Union League.

The Industrial Union League is not an offshoot of the Socialist Labor Party, nor do we organize wage earners on the basis of general labor policies, (whatever they may be). The American Labor Year Book clearly states our purpose as follows: "That the Industrial Union League dedicates itself to the task of spreading the principles of Industrial Unionism and aiding every bonafide attempt of the workers to establish such organizations."

It should therefore be plain to the reader that the I. U. L. advocates not general labor policies but a distinct policy, that of Socialist Industrial Unionism as laid down by the great American Socialist, Daniel DeLeon. In

view of the clear expression of our position in the Year Book we cannot understand how the reviewer could make such an erroneous statement of our position.

Executive Committee, I. L. U.,
SAM BRANDON, Secretary.

CHEAP AND NOT SO CONTENTED LABOR

Dear Editor:-

After much effort in finding a boss in this land of equal opportunity I finally found work in a bag factory. But this does not mean much as I only make enough to pay my board with about one dollar left over each week. I am sewing up bags. Some girls in there are getting \$7.95 a week and think it is good money. One little girl told me she only paid \$3.75 a week board and she had ALL the rest.

When I was first laid off I went to the knitting mills to work. They put me on piece work at first but said after I was there a while I could make more. Well, I walked around, saw one old lady. I asked her how long she had been there. She told me fifteen years. Then I asked her how much she made. She told me ten dollars a week. That wasn't much encouragement. I made 45 cents that day so I didn't go back any more.

There is also a pickle plant here in which my sister worked one day. They were paying her ten dollars a week. She worked for ten hours. She told me that none of the girls left their machines that day and yet the boss told her he was going to lay off half of them at night. She talked back to him, so he was willing to keep her on.

MARY, Norfolk, Va.

ASKS FOR PROBE

Dear Editor:-

In the last issue of "Labor Age" I read with a great deal of interest David J. Saposs' article dealing with racketeering in the Labor Movement.

I wondered reading the article why Mr. Saposs as a student of the Labor Movement did not mention anything about racketeering in the so-called radical or socialist unions? I would like to ask Mr. Saposs a few questions.

(1) What is the difference between fake elections and fraud in John L. Lewis' union and the A. C. W. of A.?

(2) What is the difference between graft and corruption in the A. F. of L. unions and the Amalgamated?

(3) What is the difference between expelling and depriving members of their livelihood in John L. Lewis' union and Hillman's union?

(4) What is the difference between Bill Green's selling unionism to the em-

ployers and Hillman's union?

(5) What is the difference between endorsing Grundy in the open or to sit with Thomas at a banquet and endorse LaGuardia or Lehman in a quiet way.

(6) What is the difference between the A. F. of L. unions forcing employers to advertise in souvenir books, or local unions of the A. C. W. of A. forcing employers to advertise occasionally in journals or selling tickets to banquets or to theatres?

(7) What is the difference between open opponents and hidden friends?

I think it is an injustice to mention one and not mention the other.

In conclusion I want to say that "Labor Age" ought to investigate conditions in the so-called socialist or radical unions and write a series of articles on each industry. I would also suggest to have a symposium in different industrial centers in order to win the rank and file for the progressive movement.

F. S. G.

LIKES OUR STAND

Dear Editor:-

In keeping with my established resolve not to criticise without mature thought and evidence I have delayed judgment on your issues and points of views. I thoroughly agree with you many times.

A. In your admirable defence for higher education as opposed by Green; the A. F. of L. lost much needed sympathy through their reactionaryism.

B. Your fearlessness in publishing and acting in conformity to what you believe is best for the Labor Movement.

C. Your stand against the Yellow-dog Contracts and Court Injunctions. I personally know what that means.

D. Your war on unrestricted hours for women and children and insufficient wages.

E. Your persistent efforts to promote a distinct Farmer-Labor Party. As compared to all other efforts this is paramount and will most certainly bring us to a satisfactory conclusion. Keep the hammer busy and rivet up the seams that allow the leaks that keep internationalism from maturing—surely one with vision must recognize a world movement to be of lasting benefit, "a tour de force."

This brings me to the query of "Why the Labor Movement and Socialists do not work more in harmony?" Obviously if one is unselfish the only open road from capitalism is socializing endeavors through integral co-operation. Can it be that many leaders are capitalistic at heart? It looks so to many. If so there will be no progress without much purging. Much Power to your efforts.

HORACE A. KEEFER,
Linglestown, Pa.

C. P. L. A. VIEWS

(Continued from page 23)

dict as a result of the open alliance between the judiciary and the Southern industrial Barons a revival of labor unrest in the South that will pale the past conflicts into insignificance.

Telegram to Gov. Max O. Gardner

The decision of the North Carolina Supreme Court, upholding the lower courts' sentences of strike leaders in Gastonia and Marion conflicts show open alliance between judiciary and profit-mad employers. Conference for Progressive Labor Action protests vigorously such decision as breakdown of law for the workers in your State. Sending men to jail for political and religious opinions violates traditional American rights and is a disgrace to the State of North Carolina but will in no way stop organization of workers and better conditions.

A. J. Muste, Chairman,

Conference for Progressive Labor Action.

The other releases were on a demand for more money for free employment agencies in New York City and the need for unemployment insurance for real relief of the unemployed; exposing the falsity of the claim made by industrialists that the promises to President Hoover, not to cut wages, are being kept; and explaining that the recent textile strikes in France were not against social insurance, as the newspapers reported, but for greater compensation.

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BLACK STAR MOTHERS

(Continued from page 15)

name, the number of bodies in the grave, and then this inscription: "Killed in Monongah mine disaster—December 6, 1907." Adjoining the cemetery is a plot of ground fenced off where the unidentified men are buried—those unnamed dead who are so eloquently mentioned in the newspaper files. From reading the account of their death and the outpouring of America's sympathy at the time of the explosion, we naturally thought we would see a memorial to the men for whom all the tears had been shed.

In this we were mistaken. We found the place where "fifty men had been at work digging graves" twenty years back. In every way it resembles a cow lot. There isn't a monument of any kind, not one printed word to indicate that men are buried there—not even a mound to suggest a grave. Just below the hill is the old number eight mine showering its grime and dirt on the ground underneath which lie the bones of that unknown number of coal diggers blown to bits in its tunnels.

The place is overrun with weeds and wild berry bushes. All that remains to suggest the explosion is a small wooden grave marker, rotted and fallen away from its original mooring. It is warped and twisted by the sun of twenty-three summers. It might be any bit of wood one kicks around in any common cow pasture. Fairmont has forgotten.

But Mrs. Daves could not forget. She kept looking for her husband. When the mine began operating again she watched every car go over the tipple. Her eyes followed the coal through the shaker into the railroad cars. The coal company, as well as the priest, kindly enough tried to divert her. "She, like everybody else, must forget." Then she began carrying the coal home to her own yard where she could look for her man unmolested. From that time on, every day, rain or shine, winter or summer, she has gone to the old number eight mine, picked up a sack of coal, slung it on her shoulder and climbed up the hill to her yard. And for twenty-three years she has been hunting there for the body of the man who had walked out of her house to his work and never came back. The coal pile has grown by her labors, up and up, until it stands now ready to bury her, house, and all—a bleak and terrible monument to the suffering of all coal miners' women wherever coal is mined.

IN OTHER LANDS

(Continued from page 24)

tire lines for miles are stripped bare by the hill men and their native sympathizers. All of which makes the reports of British victories over the tribesmen thin yarns invented by the propaganda bureaus of Delhi and London to fool the world.

Britain has lost over a hundred millions since the boycott started and it in part accounts for the increase in its unemployment list. It also makes the peaceful pretensions of the London Conferences and Washington delegations read like Gilbert and Sullivan comic opera. At home in Britain the Indians have vigorous allies in the Left groups. All concede that Gandhi has the upper hand in the diplomatic game so far.

THE ANZACS

New Zealand is demonstrating the impossibility of tariff within the Empire by its row with Canada over the sale of butter and frozen lamb. It put a duty on Canadian automobiles in reprisal for the latter's stopping the dumping of butter in Nova Scotia and Vancouver. The Labor party men in N. Z. and elsewhere are bitterly attacking the government for its brutal treatment of the natives of Samoa. The N. Z. mandate is questioned and soon it will be debated at the League of Nations.

The Australian finances went awry and Labor Premier J. H. Scullin and his colleagues have been bravely trying to balance the budget by taxing imports. While in Europe on League of Nations and Dominion Conference business he managed to secure a loan in London but it throws the Commonwealth into the power of the Bank of England. Scullin opposes Empire tariff but he may be compelled to back down at the Conference owing to the financial situation at home. Australia paying over \$500,000,000 a year to London for private bonds and national loans finds itself chained to Britain banks and the export trade is not big enough to meet the current bills. Like other countries it has too much of some things and we read of one million sheep being destroyed or allowed to die in order to stabilize the meat and wool trade. Like the U. S. Anzac finds generous nature and too much wealth a curse—that is to say, a curse under the capitalist system where wealth is produced for sale and not for use or future welfare. Premier Scullin will have a Herculean task to rescue his country from the strangulation cords that are flung out from the London banks.

FRANCE, ITALY AND THE BALKANS

French prosperity goes on with trade booming. Strikes in the textile and other trades are numerous and largely due in part to the high cost of living and social insurance expenses. French capitalists will have to scale down their profits by raising the wages if they wish to remain stabilized in production. Italian finances are hopelessly muddled and despite Mussolini's brave front on the quake zones national bankruptcy is in the offing. Trade is bad and unemployment is severe. Fascisti aggrandizement has brought no new wealth to the country and the Dictatorship is tottering. The Balkans are likely to explode as a result of unsettled boundaries and the national rivalries. Behind the rivals are France and Italy with Britain stepping in with its usual interest in the oil of Roumania.

IRELAND

The railway men and bus drivers won a notable victory over the state and the capitalists by their general strike. The rail unions in Ireland are affiliated with the British as are other important trade organizations. The reactionists who always opposed vigorously national independence right-about-faced and became very anti-English when they found British union men directing the strike troubles and preparing for the general strike to force the hands of the hard boiled transportation companies and medieval minded government officials who could see nothing and could do nothing to settle the trouble or ward it off until the house almost fell on them.

RUSSIA, TURKEY AND OIL

The Soviet government refused to recognize the Lena Goldfields Company law suit in London. The latter may lose all its property in Siberia. The Soviet agents in China are meeting with remarkable success in their campaign in China. It is war to death all round with the medievalists and the Fascisti generals fighting each other and sometimes combining against the common danger of Red supremacy. The Reds are paying the reactionists of the North and South back in their own coin. The Koumingtang is now but a name and the relatives of Sun Yat Sen, once so powerful, are reduced to impotence. Both Japan and Russia are profiting by the helplessness of the British in India.

The struggle for oil is carried into Turkey and Persia with the Shell capitalists financing and arming the Kurds against the Turks and Persia playing the usual role of the innocent bystander. It is also getting its share of the knocks, the fighting and diplomatic troubles.

PATRICK L. QUINLAN.

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Official Organ of the Conference for Progressive Labor Action

25c Per Copy

\$2.50 A Year

Published Monthly at
104 Fifth Avenue, New York City

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